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PLANNING WITH RACIALLY CHANGING NEIGHBORHOODS

A THESIS

Presented to

The Division of Graduate Studies and Research

by  
Richard M. *Michael* Riemer

In Partial Fulfillment

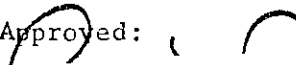
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## SUMMARY

The purpose of this study is to determine how the needs of a neighborhood for community facilities can change when racial transition from white to black occurs and to propose planning guidelines to provide those needs.

Based on a review of available literature and through numerous interviews, it appears that racial transition of white residential neighborhoods from white to black is a complex phenomenon caused by a number of interrelated social and economic factors. Rising black housing demand is a major cause in the racial transition of white residential neighborhoods. For several reasons, black housing demand comes to bear on certain white neighborhoods. These include (1) the lack of sufficient housing in existing black neighborhoods to meet rising black housing demand; (2) the location and type of housing in white neighborhoods upon which this demand bears; (3) discrimination which prevents a significant number of black citizens from obtaining generally available housing throughout the city, and (4) the policies and practices of real estate brokers. Once black housing demand is channeled toward a particular white residential neighborhood, the attitudes of white residents and their capabilities to move elsewhere influence the rate at which the whites will move and transition will occur.

A study of six Atlanta neighborhoods that underwent racial transition shows that, when transition occurs the community facility needs of a



neighborhood can change and, if these needs are not promptly met, problems can develop. The major need which is likely to materialize is for additional schools, but other needs might arise such as public recreation facilities, day care centers, juvenile delinquency, housing deterioration, public transit and shopping facilities. Since it is difficult to determine with precision when and where racial transition will occur, and exactly how the needs of the population will change, it is difficult to plan effectively to meet these needs.

Considering the nature of racial transition and the results of the study of the Atlanta transition neighborhoods, it appears that the "traditional" comprehensive planning process is not adequate for planning to provide for the needs of racially changing neighborhoods. Therefore, an additional planning process is required to augment the "traditional" process. This study proposes a process involving the development of contingency plans for neighborhoods with "potential" for racial transition. Through an analysis of the factors which cause racial transition, these "potential" transition neighborhoods can be identified. Once the neighborhoods are identified, an analysis can be made to determine how the community-wide needs of the neighborhood might change if transition occurs. From this analysis, a neighborhood contingency plan can be formulated to provide for these changing needs. The neighborhood contingency plan would be activated and implemented if and when a neighborhood starts to undergo racial transition.

This thesis suggests that the function of performing this additional planning process logically lies with a city's planning agency.

Implementing contingency plans will be difficult and will require coordination and cooperation between numerous agencies and organizations. Additional research (and perhaps experimentation) is required to determine how neighborhood contingency plans could be activated and implemented.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Racial transition of residential neighborhoods from white to black has occurred in many United States cities with growing black populations. This complex social phenomenon is controversial and evolves strong emotions among the white and black residents of affected neighborhoods. There is a need for concern with the realistic causes of racial transition and the problems that develop from racial transition.

#### Purpose

Racial transition is an important factor in the way a city develops and in the general well being of city inhabitants. Many lives are disrupted and problems created when several thousand white residents hastily move out of a neighborhood and are replaced by new black residents. Since it is very difficult to rationally plan for the needs of a city when neighborhoods undergo rapid, unanticipated population changes, city planners should be concerned with racial transition.

The purpose of this study is to analyze racial transition in order to determine how the needs of a neighborhood change with transition and how planning can provide for these needs. Chapter II discusses the factors and interacting forces which cause racial transition. Chapter III outlines some of the planning problems that can occur when neighborhoods undergo racial transition. Chapter IV proposes guidelines for planning

to provide for the needs of racially changing neighborhoods.

### Method

The information in this thesis was developed by (1) a review of pertinent literature; (2) correspondence with planning agencies and city departments in several cities; (3) interviews with planners, administrators, social workers, and residents of transition neighborhoods; and (4) a study of six Atlanta residential neighborhoods that underwent racial transition from 1960 to 1970. This study involved a search for documentation of changing needs of residents during racial transition and for planning problems resulting from transition.

## CHAPTER II

### RACIAL TRANSITION OF WHITE RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOODS

This chapter defines and describes the term "racial transition" as it is to be used in this thesis and explains the factors which create the situation resulting in transition.

#### Definition of "Racial Transition"

Racial transition of white residential neighborhoods is a specific case of the sociological phenomenon known as "invasion" and "succession." A group of people identified by some common characteristic, such as economic status, ethnic background, religion or race, moves into a residential neighborhood occupied almost exclusively by another group. After this "invasion" the tendency is for the new group to eventually become the predominant group and "succeed" the original group.

According to Gordon E. Erickson, urban sociologist, writing in Urban Behavior,

Invasion is the process by which new types of institutions or population groups penetrate an area already occupied and displace the host institutions or population groups. In residential invasion two sets of people are brought together; usually there is a status difference between them. A residential succession may be said to have occurred if the population which enters and establishes itself in the area differs in certain respects from the one it supplants. The difference between the two may be economic, cultural or racial.

This study is concerned only with the specific case of "invasion" and

and "succession" in which black Americans move into a predominantly white neighborhood and soon replace most of the white residents who move away. For two reasons, the term "racial transition" in this study is concerned primarily with the purchase of homes by black citizens in white areas and not with the rental of housing: (1) available literature focused on purchases of housing and (2) the housing in the six Atlanta neighborhoods studied was predominantly single family-owner occupied.

Erickson's discussion points out that the two groups involved in "invasion" and "succession" are initially set apart. This is certainly true for the specific case of racial transition.

In most cities black Americans are concentrated in specific residential areas. These areas are often separated from white residential areas by major thoroughfares, expressways, railroad tracks, rivers or areas of non-residential land use (e.g. industry, parks, cemeteries, and commercial areas). A 1965 study of 207 major cities, by sociologists Karl and Alma Taeuber, showed that, if each block in these cities were to be occupied by both races, in proportion to city-wide population characteristics, 86 percent of the black residents and a corresponding number of white residents would have to move.<sup>2</sup>

Racial transition consists of an initial real estate transaction and four phases commonly referred to in the literature as "penetration," "invasion," "consolidation," and "piling up."<sup>3</sup> This meaning of the term "invasion" is more specific than the meaning in Erickson's discussion of invasion and succession. The process is illustrated in Figure 1, showing the phases of racial transition, the time in years, and the percent of the

neighborhood population which is black. It is interesting to note that the slope of the curve in Figure 1 is actually the rate at which the neighborhood is undergoing racial transition at any particular time. A steep slope indicates rapid racial change.

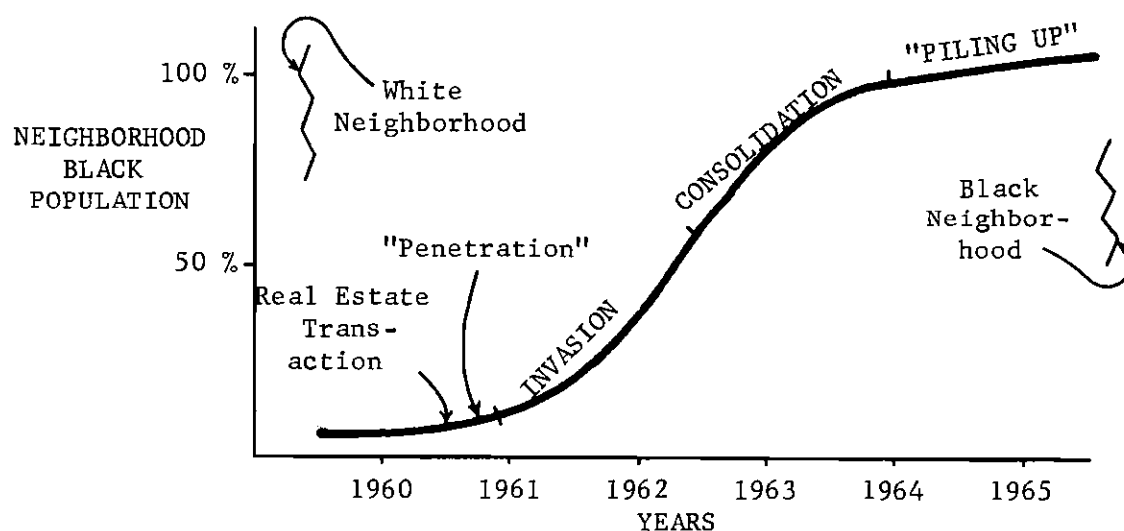


Figure 1. The Progress of Racial Transition

The initial real estate transaction may consist of a single sale to a black family or several sales at about the same time. This transaction can be made by a real estate broker, but most brokers refuse to handle the first black purchase in a white area because it might ruin their business with whites,<sup>4</sup> or cause them to lose the respect of other real estate brokers. Hence, most of the first black families to purchase in a white area generally do so directly from the white owner occupant. However, with the enforcement of Fair Housing Laws, brokers are making

more of these initial transactions. There are four reasons why a white homeowner, wishing to sell, might choose to sell to a black family: (1) he cannot find a white family willing to pay an adequate price, (2) he dislikes his neighbors and wishes to antagonize them before he moves away, (3) his personal philosophy is one of non-discrimination, or (4) he is completely apathetic about the buyer to whom he sells.

"Penetration" occurs when the first black family (or families) actually moves into the white neighborhood. This is not synonymous with the real estate transaction because, in some cases, black families have been prevented from occupying their newly purchased homes, through persuasion, threat, or violence by white residents.

"Invasion" is the second phase of racial transition of a white residential area. Because black families have already moved into the area, real estate brokers consider it "mixed" and are willing and happy to handle black purchases. Black families are attracted to the area because it is evident that the housing is no longer restricted to white purchasers. Most of the white residents realize that black families are moving in and a wave of selling may occur as rumors are spread about the area becoming all black. This places more houses on the market and decreases the possibility that white families will purchase in the area. With only black purchasers exerting demand for the unusually large number of houses placed on the market, the number of black residents rises sharply. This can be seen in Figure 1 as the slope curve increases during "invasion."

"Consolidation" is the third phase of racial transition. It is marked by the continued increase in the number of black residents, though



at a somewhat slower rate than during invasion. This also can be seen in Figure 1, as the slope becomes less steep. Generally this phase starts when most of the remaining whites conclude that the area is becoming all black and they make plans to move. "Consolidation" ends when the process of replacement of whites by blacks is essentially complete. However, a few isolated white residents might remain in the neighborhood for some time, preventing transition from being entirely complete.

"Piling up" is the final phase of racial transition. This somewhat confusing term was introduced by Otis and Beverly Duncan in The Negro Population of Chicago (1957).<sup>5</sup> It was intended to describe a continuing increase in the population of racially changing neighborhoods after they become predominantly black. The result of "piling up" is a larger population than was present before transition.

It is not inevitable that a neighborhood which undergoes "penetration" and "invasion" will undergo "consolidation" and "piling up." The classic example of a neighborhood which underwent "penetration" and "invasion" but then became a stabilized integrated neighborhood is West Mount Airy in Philadelphia. Community organization and wide acceptance of the goal of stabilization were primarily responsible for halting transition, and "consolidation" and "piling up" did not occur. The key to stabilization in West Mount Airy was the promotion of the neighborhood as a desirable place to live, with good schools, good city services, and a generally nice environment. This promotion was probably responsible for whites remaining in the neighborhood and for new whites moving into it.<sup>6</sup>

It is also possible for a neighborhood to undergo "penetration,"

"invasion," and "consolidation" without undergoing "piling up." The type of neighborhood that undergoes transition and the extent and type of black housing demand appear to be factors in determining whether "piling up" occurs. For example, several middle income neighborhoods in Atlanta, with average and above average housing values, underwent transition during the 1960s with no increase in population (piling up) above the original white population.<sup>7</sup>

In defining racial transition it is necessary to show how racial transition is distinct from normal urban growth, as illustrated by ethnic groups and poorer citizens moving out of central city areas to better neighborhoods.

The theory that racial transition is part of normal urban growth hinges on the fact that it is "normal" for people to seek the best housing which they can afford. Poor residents moving into a city live first in the lower-status areas (center city areas), and then move out toward better neighborhoods as their financial situation improves. According to Karl and Alma Taeuber,

...it is virtually impossible to isolate specific concomitants of racial succession, because expansion of Negro residential areas appears to be an integral part of urban growth. Neighborhoods in large cities tend to be broadly differentiated according to distance from the city center, with high-status areas located at greater distances than low-status areas.... Negro areas have generally originated near the center of cities and expanded outward from these initial locations, encroaching upon the higher status white areas towards the periphery of the city.<sup>8</sup>

The Taeubers also associate racial transition with suburbanization.

In many ways, then, the movement of the Negro population out of the poorer areas into better areas is not only facilitated by the tremendous suburbanization of the white popula-

tion but it is analogous to the out movement of whites.<sup>9</sup>

But this theory of racial transition being part of normal urban growth does not seem to adequately explain several aspects of the phenomenon.

First, the theory seems to indicate that the white residents who move out of racially changing neighborhoods are part of a suburbanization movement. However, one neighborhood in Atlanta that underwent racial transition was actually a suburb. The neighborhood is located on the periphery of urban development outside the circumferential expressway. The housing was only a few years old at the time of racial transition. The white residents who fled when black citizens moved in were certainly not part of any suburbanization movement because they already lived in the suburbs.

Second, the concept of black citizens moving out of poorer areas and into better areas of a city is certainly valid, but based on interviews in Atlanta's racially changing neighborhoods, some of the new black residents moved from other cities and not from "poorer" Atlanta neighborhoods. These black citizens moved into transitional neighborhoods without any geographical notion of "moving outward" from the traditionally black neighborhoods in the central part of the city.

Third, the Taeuber theory of outward movement to better housing also seems to indicate that this movement would be in all directions which have better housing. But in Atlanta, upper-middle-class neighborhoods, only three miles north of the Atlanta central business district, have remained exclusively white while similar neighborhoods ten miles east and west of the central business district have undergone racial

transition.

Finally, if racial transition of neighborhoods is part of normal urban growth, it could be expected to take place at about the same rate of speed. But based on the 1960 Census and Population and Housing (1961-1969) by the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission, it appears that racial transition occurs much faster than the normal movement of people to better or different housing. For example, three Atlanta neighborhoods which underwent racial transition were experiencing a population turnover of approximately eight percent per year prior to racial transition. But during racial transition, the population turnover was about 33 percent per year.

While racial transition generally involves the movement of people to better neighborhoods towards the suburbs (normal urban growth), it also involves a distinct, easily identified minority group which has historically been subjected to discrimination and unjust treatment. According to Charles Silberman, author of several books on American society, writing in Crisis in Black and White,

The new immigrants (urban Black citizens) are distinguished from older residents neither by religion nor by national origin. They are protestant, for the most part, and can boast of an American ancestry much older than that of the established city dweller. Their sole distinguishing feature is color: the newcomers are Black.<sup>10</sup>

Danial Moynihan and Nathan Glazer, urban sociologists, point out that race constitutes a distinct factor separating black Americans from other minority groups. "Time alone does not dissolve the groups if they are not close to the Anglo-Saxon center. Color marks off a group regardless of time; and perhaps most significantly, the "majority" group to which

assimilation should occur...."<sup>11</sup> Black citizens simply could not "disappear" into the middle class of larger society as did European ethnic groups.<sup>12</sup> In this respect, racial transition is different from normal urban growth illustrated by the movement of European ethnic groups or poorer citizens to better housing toward the suburbs.

Racial transition is a unique American socio-economic phenomenon which cannot be explained solely by the factors which shape urban growth. Black citizens have historically been discriminated against in the United States. This discrimination, in addition to the "movement to better housing," results in a series of interrelated factors which explain the racial transition of white neighborhoods.

#### Factors Resulting in Racial Transition

There is no single cause of racial transition of a white residential area. Several interrelated factors create a situation resulting in racial transition. Some of these factors are not necessarily causes of transition, but they contribute to this situation. Figure 2 illustrates these factors and the interrelationships.

The many factors resulting in racial transition can be grouped into three areas for discussion:

1. rising black housing demand,
2. white neighborhoods with "potential" for transition, and
3. real estate brokers.

#### Rising Black Housing Demand

Rising black housing demand is a major factor causing racial transition of white residential neighborhoods. A white neighborhood could not

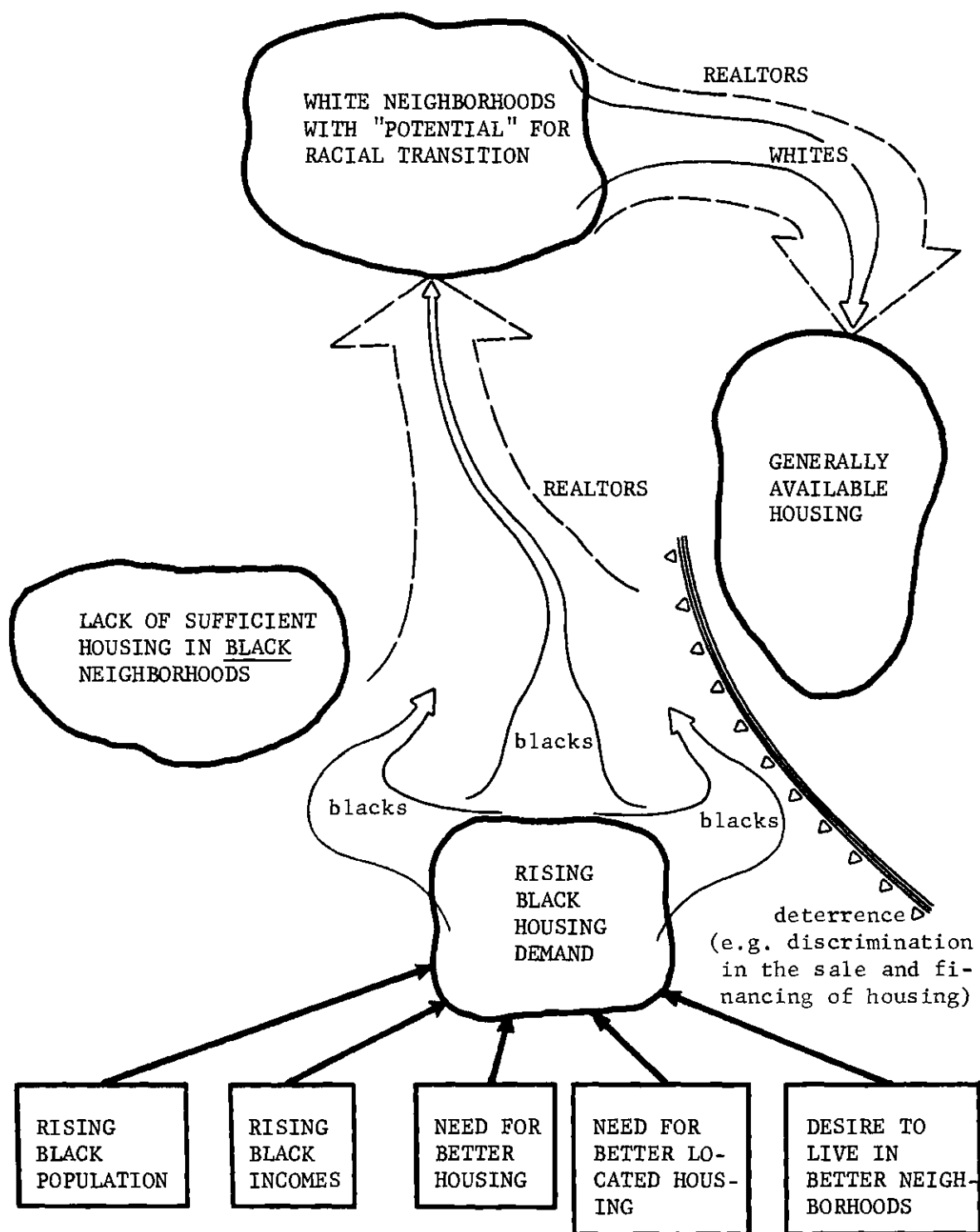


Figure 2. Dynamics of Racial Transition

undergo racial transition unless there were sufficient black families willing and financially able to move into that neighborhood.

Housing demand consists of demand for more housing, for better housing, and for housing in better neighborhoods. The demand for more housing results from increasing black population and from city growth and development such as the displacement of black families by urban renewal and the construction of urban expressways. The demand for better housing results from three factors: (1) a self recognized need or desire for better housing or for different housing necessitated by family phase changes, (2) sufficient economic resources to obtain better housing, and (3) a desire to commit these resources to this purpose. The demand for housing in better neighborhoods results from the deficiencies in a citizen's current neighborhood. This may involve such factors as obsolete school facilities, rising crime, housing deterioration, a lack of city services, and even the socio-economic status of one's neighbors.

Rising black housing demand must be viewed in relation to segregated housing patterns. Black Americans compete for an artificially limited amount of housing. For several reasons, rising black housing demand usually goes unfulfilled, except through racial transition of white neighborhoods.

Although some interracial housing developments and housing are constructed and marketed specifically for black Americans, in general, this has been insufficient to adequately satisfy demand.<sup>13</sup> Hence, many black families either give up the search for housing or look to white areas (including new development) or transitional areas.

Discrimination in the sale and rental of housing prevents black families from obtaining generally available housing in white residential areas. Real estate brokers may inform the black family that no housing is available or an advertised house has just been sold. Sometimes an unreasonably inflated price may be quoted to black families, denying them a house that they could normally afford. If a black family does find a house available to them in a white area, problems in finding adequate financing may well develop from discrimination in mortgage lending.

According to the Commission on Race and Housing, mortgage institutions have "provided major support for racial segregation by their policy of lending to non-whites only in certain areas and refusing to finance the purchase of housing by non-whites in white neighborhoods."<sup>14</sup>

In 1962, urban researchers Meyerson, Terrell, and Wheaton stated in Housing, People and Cities, that

... racial discrimination limits the housing market even for upper-income families of minority origin. New building open to Negroes is rare, small in volume and usually segregated; mortgage loans are often unobtainable, or differentially priced; real estate brokers often restrict offerings to segregated areas or areas in rapid transition.<sup>15</sup>

Of course, this situation is changing somewhat and discrimination may be declining, but there are also other factors which restrict black citizens with adequate resources from purchasing homes in white neighborhoods.

The anticipation of discrimination prevents black families from seeking housing in white areas. Others believe that housing in white areas is more expensive than they can afford. Some black families prefer to live in black residential areas due to a developing sense of black American pride, or because of friends, churches, and familiar surroundings.



The anticipation of hostility from white residents also deters some black families from seeking housing in white areas.

Since the factors that cause black housing demand are likely to result in continually rising demand, the longer this demand goes unfulfilled the more it increases. With rising black housing demand not being met by new construction or by generally available housing, black housing demand eventually becomes sufficient to overwhelm an entire white neighborhood which has "potential" for racial transition.

#### White Neighborhoods with "Potential" for Transition

A number of factors determines which white residential neighborhoods have "potential" for racial change. These factors include proximity to black neighborhoods, the type of housing in the neighborhood, the capability of whites to move, the attitudes of white residents, and the white housing demand in the neighborhood.

Proximity. The reason for the importance of proximity is not clear, but the vast majority of residential areas that have undergone racial transition was near existing black residential areas. Perhaps black citizens are more likely to successfully obtain housing in residential areas which are located next to established black areas than in those removed from such areas.

According to urban researchers Chester Rapkin and William G. Grigsby, "The most logical areas to undergo racial change . . . (are) . . . on the periphery of established non-white sections where a point of contact has been established . . . ." <sup>16</sup>

Based on racial transition in Atlanta, it appears that a white

neighborhood which has "potential" for racial change can have two types of spatial relationships with the established black neighborhood which constitutes the "point of contact." One is when an area is in the line of migration from central city neighborhoods to the suburbs as exhibited by European minority groups in many northeastern American cities (see Example A, Figure 3). The other is an area which has become partially surrounded by black residential areas (Example B, Figure 3).

The white suburbs and other white areas shown in the diagram may not be ripe for racial change due to a number of reasons. They may lack any "point of contact," the housing in the neighborhoods may not match the black housing demand, or the neighborhood may not be desirable to the black citizens.

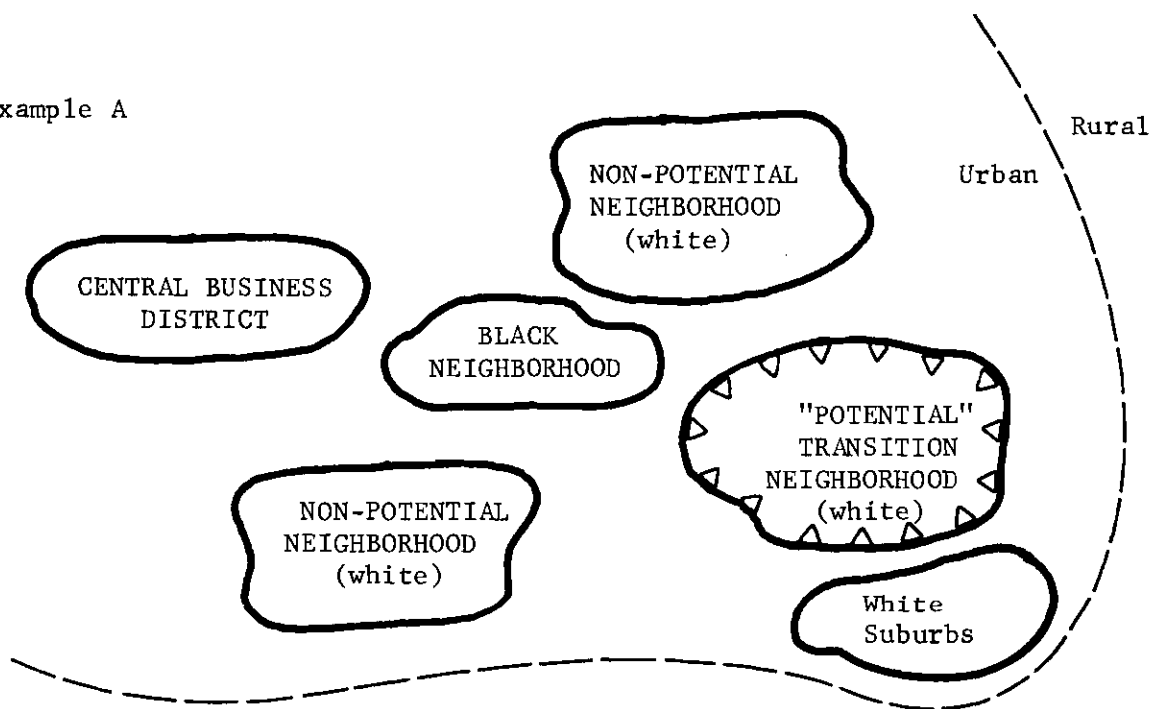
Of course, some neighborhoods which do not have the spatial relationship to black neighborhoods as shown in Figure 3 are potentially transitional for reasons unique to these neighborhoods.

Type of Housing. The housing characteristics of a "potential" transition neighborhood must match the type of black housing demand, because according to political scientist Morton Grodzins, "Lower class Negroes move into middle class neighborhoods."<sup>17</sup>

At any given time the black demand for high, medium, or lower cost housing may predominate. Since this housing demand may change over a period of time, the white neighborhoods with potential for transition might change. Neighborhoods currently with "potential" may become "non-potential" and vice versa.

Capability of Whites to Move. A suitable white residential area

Example A



Example B

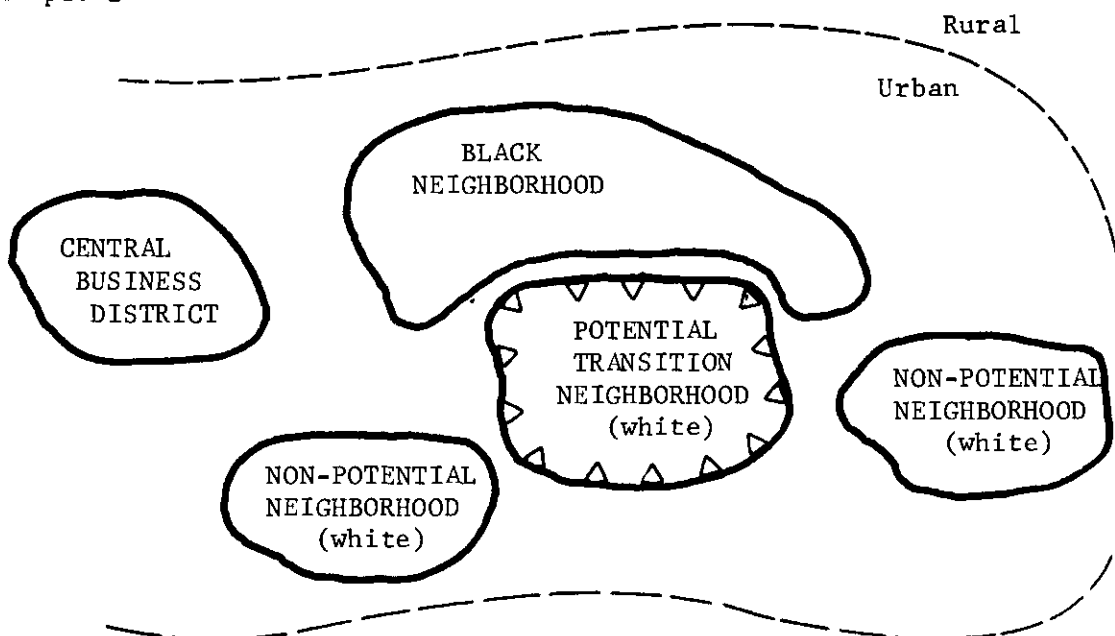


Figure 3. White Neighborhoods with Potential for Transition

cannot undergo racial transition unless the white residents are capable and willing to move.

White residents are capable of moving only if there is available housing elsewhere that they can financially afford, although it is possible the practices of real estate brokers might result in these white residents overcommitting their economic resources in order to obtain housing outside the racially changing neighborhood.

Since transition can be facilitated by abundant housing (available to whites) and by white financial affluence, it appears that racial transition and the rate of transition might be influenced by the condition of the local economy and the housing construction industry.

Attitudes of White Residents. White residents may wish to move either for reasons, such as family phase or job changes, or because of racial change in the area. Those who move because of racial change may do so for several reasons: emotion, fallacious beliefs, and sometimes fact.

A few white residents are motivated to move because of racial prejudice, with no knowledge of the type of black citizens who have moved into the neighborhood and with no indication as to how many more black citizens might move in. Some white residents with intolerant attitudes refuse to live on an equal status basis with black residents and move out at the first opportunity. This prejudice includes stereotyped beliefs about black residents regarding crime or lower school standards.

Prejudice may not result in immediate action, but may develop as more black families move into an area. White families may be motivated to

leave only after the black population reaches a certain percentage. This percentage may vary with each white family, but the percentage at which most white residents move is the so called "tipping point."<sup>18</sup>

Some white residents believe that property values fall when black residents move into an area. This preconception has been discredited by sociologist Luigi Laurenti, who investigated several thousand real estate transactions in areas that underwent racial change. He found that in 44 percent of the cases prices increased, in 41 percent prices remained the same, and in only 15 percent did prices decline as racial change occurred.<sup>19</sup>

Some white residents sell their homes because black families are often willing to pay more than the fair market value. Black families compete for the limited amount of housing that is available to them. Since the supply is limited and the demand is high, the price is often higher than before racial transition.

Other white families move because they fear that living in an integrated neighborhood will cause them to lose status among their friends and associates. This can be viewed as a response to the anticipated prejudiced beliefs of other people.

The last remaining white residents are motivated to move away by the fact that all of their friends have left and they feel "out-of-place" in a neighborhood occupied almost entirely by new (black) residents.

White Housing Demand. The lack of white housing demand contributes to racial transition because transition cannot occur if white families replace the white residents who move away. With white families not competing for housing in racially changing neighborhoods, the process of

transition is sustained.

White demand for housing in transitional areas usually is negligible for the same reasons that cause white residents to move away. Stereotyped beliefs, fear of falling property values, and a loss of status probably tend to minimize white demand.

In isolated cases a white family might move into a transition neighborhood because of a desire to live in an integrated area.

#### Real Estate Brokers

Real estate brokers contribute to racial transition in four ways: (1) by contributing to rising black housing demand through the operation of separate black and white housing markets, (2) by "blockbusting," (3) by placing racially mixed residential areas exclusively into the black housing market, and (4) by harassing white homeowners with solicitations to sell after blacks have moved into the neighborhood. The net result of these four activities is to channel black families into transition neighborhoods and white families into generally available housing, as shown in Figure 2.

The dual housing market for blacks and whites is based on a systematic pattern of discrimination in the sale and rental of housing.<sup>20</sup> Of course, the dual housing market works to the disadvantage of blacks. Potential black purchasers are shown housing only in black residential areas by real estate brokers.<sup>21</sup> The expressed rationale for excluding black families from white residential areas has been that homogeneity is a desirable characteristic of a neighborhood and the lack of this characteristic would cause a decline in property values. Before 1954 the Federal

Housing Administration promoted this concept and it was generally accepted by mortgage lending institutions, real estate brokers, and many white homeowners.<sup>22</sup> The Federal Housing Administration officially changed its position in 1954 when field offices were instructed to encourage open-occupancy housing developments.<sup>23</sup> This policy was reinforced by Executive Order 11063 which President John F. Kennedy issued on November 20, 1962. The order directed all Federal Agencies to take appropriate action to prevent discrimination.

The dual housing market provides two different ways for real estate brokers and speculators to make large profits.

First, by selling houses in transition areas only to black clients, the process of transition is encouraged and the probability that more white homeowners will wish to move is increased. Experience indicates that many of these homeowners utilize real estate brokers to sell their homes. Therefore, racial transition can temporarily cause a large increase in real estate volume and broker commissions.

Second, with two housing markets, there are two levels of demand. Hence, the value of a particular house can vary depending on which market the house is in. Speculators make large profits by purchasing houses from white families (in the low demand white housing market) and selling them to black families at a higher price.

The fact that real estate brokers (and speculators) make large profits through racial transition motivates a small number of unethical brokers to engage in "blockbusting." "Blockbusting" is the practice of selling a home to a black family in a white neighborhood and then proceed-

ing to play on the fears of other white residents encouraging them to sell. Few real estate brokers openly engage in blockbusting, and those who do are usually considered marginal by other brokers.<sup>24</sup>

Most real estate brokers contribute to racial transition by placing newly integrated neighborhoods into the black housing market. Neighborhoods in the early phases of transition are shown only to black citizens, and hence most of the purchasers are black.<sup>25</sup> The expressed reason of real estate brokers for not showing housing in these areas to whites is that it is assumed that white families are not interested in such integrated areas. The white purchaser is seldom questioned as to his interest.<sup>26</sup>

Once a neighborhood has changed racially, real estate brokers contribute to sustaining the process of transition by soliciting sales from white homeowners. Agents may engage in telephone solicitations or may visit homes and solicit sales. Some white homeowners with little intention of selling their homes eventually yield to the harassment of numerous solicitations by real estate brokers.

The numerous complex factors which create the situation leading to racial transition make it difficult to anticipate where and when racial transition will occur.



### CHAPTER III

#### CITY PLANNING PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM RACIAL TRANSITION

Much has been written about the actual process of racial transition but no extensive studies of the planning problems of areas that undergo racial transition were found. This chapter outlines some of the possible planning problems of racially changing neighborhoods. It does not attempt to discuss any problem in detail or include all possible problems. Problems are discussed within the limited range of information available from a study of six Atlanta transition neighborhoods.

One reason for the scarcity of information is the lack of population data showing exactly when and where racial transition occurred. The United States Census shows the racial characteristics of residents in Census Tracts, but unfortunately only in ten-year intervals. Since racial transition of neighborhoods usually occurs in periods of time as short as two or three years, additional population data are needed to document problems.

For the purpose of this study, additional population data were requested from the planning agencies of the twenty-six larger Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of the nation. Yearly estimates of population by race were requested for Census Tracts, neighborhoods, or planning districts. Twenty-five cities responded that the information was not available. A selection of these responses is presented in Appendix A.

Houston, Texas and Nashville, Tennessee had special population studies for one or two years since 1960, but only Atlanta had yearly estimates of population by race for each Census Tract.

An analysis of the Atlanta data shows that six Census Tracts in the city underwent racial transition between 1960 and 1969. Five of the Tracts generally correspond to the residential areas known as Adamsville, Center Hill, East Lake, Kirkwood, and Grove Park. The sixth area has no common name but will be called (in this thesis) Gordon-Peyton after the two main thoroughfares in the area.

Maps of these neighborhoods, statistics and graphs showing population change, and neighborhood characteristics prior to transition are presented in Appendices B, C, D, and E.

The rate of transition varied in the six neighborhoods. Transition in Kirkwood and Grove Park was rapid. In a three-year period, Kirkwood went from 9.0 percent black to 86.5 percent black and Grove Park went from 3.1 percent black to 97.5 percent black. The other neighborhoods experienced somewhat slower transition, with the slowest being Adamsville, which went from 10.9 percent black to 80.1 percent black in six years.<sup>27</sup>

Transition in these Atlanta neighborhoods may be somewhat different from transition in other cities. Each of these Atlanta neighborhoods is distinctly defined by major highways or thoroughfares, railroads, or areas of non-residential land use. Hence, transition may be different from cities with major grid street patterns where transition can "creep" from block to block.

In order to determine the planning problems which occurred in the Atlanta neighborhoods, it was necessary to establish a definition of a "city planning problem." In this study, a city planning problem in a racially changing neighborhood is taken to be any situation that fulfills the following criteria: (1) the situation interferes with the attainment of normal human goals (e.g. depriving children of an adequate educational opportunity by requiring them to attend a school which is considered overcrowded by professional educators); (2) the situation is neighborhood-wide and not merely applicable to a few residents; and (3) the situation arises because of racial transition and from some random or unique cause (e.g. an unusually large amount of land rezoned from single family residential use to some other use opposed by most of the residents for reasons unrelated to racial transition). The first and second criteria are subject to judgment in determining what constitutes "interference" or "neighborhood-wide." Showing that a situation fulfills the third criterion presents a major obstacle because of the limited sample in which to document problems.

The data obtained on the Atlanta neighborhoods show that the major problem likely to result from racial transition is the need for additional schools and indicates that several other problems might arise.

#### Major Problem - Need for Additional Schools

The most evident and the largest problem that developed in the six Atlanta transitional neighborhoods was a need for additional schools. The problem is best documented and illustrated by the Kirkwood and East Lake

neighborhoods where elementary school attendance districts closely coincided with Census Tracts, facilitating an accurate comparison of yearly school enrollment and neighborhood racial characteristics.

Racial transition resulted in the presence of many more school children and an unanticipated need for more schools.

#### Increased Enrollment

There appears to be two causes of the increased enrollment in East Lake and Kirkwood. The major apparent cause was that new black families had more elementary school children per family than the white families which moved away. Another cause was the 11 percent increase in population during racial transition. This is illustrated by the following information derived from the "Statistical Report" of the Atlanta Board of Education, "Population and Housing" by the Atlanta Metropolitan Planning Commission, and the 1960 United States Census of Population and Housing.<sup>28</sup>

	East Lake and Kirkwood			
	Population	% Increase	Enrollment	% Increase
1960	10,396	--	1,300	--
1969	11,574	11	2,700	138

Apparently this enrollment increase was not expected. Enrollment projections for 1983, developed by the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission before racial transition in Kirkwood and East Lake, estimated that these neighborhoods would have 2,487 students in elementary schools, high schools, and colleges all together. This estimate was exceeded in 1968 for elementary schools alone.<sup>29</sup>

It is interesting to note that, in 1960, the Atlanta Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area had 0.57 elementary school children per family while East Lake had only 0.43 and Kirkwood had 0.33. After racial transition, these neighborhoods had 0.73 elementary school children per household. While this is somewhat above the S.M.S.A. average, it is well below that of several white suburban Census Tracts. Therefore, the increased enrollment was not due to the fact that black families moving into the area had unusually large numbers of elementary school children, but that the white families moving out had unusually few. A comparison of yearly enrollment statistics with population characteristics estimated by the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission shows a strong relation between rising elementary school enrollment and racial transition. Figure 4 illustrates this relationship. The magnitude of the increase, its close correlation with racial change in the neighborhoods, and the fact that the additional students were black indicates that the increased enrollment was due to racial transition.

Attendance zones remained the same during the years of racial transition in Kirkwood and East Lake. In fact, any change would have been difficult because the city limits of Atlanta protrudes into DeKalb County, as shown in Appendix B.

It was impossible to determine the effect of private schools on enrollment increases in East Lake and Kirkwood. It is likely that a larger percentage of white children attended private schools than did black children living in the neighborhood after transition. This fact could account for a slightly increased enrollment as the neighborhood changed racially.

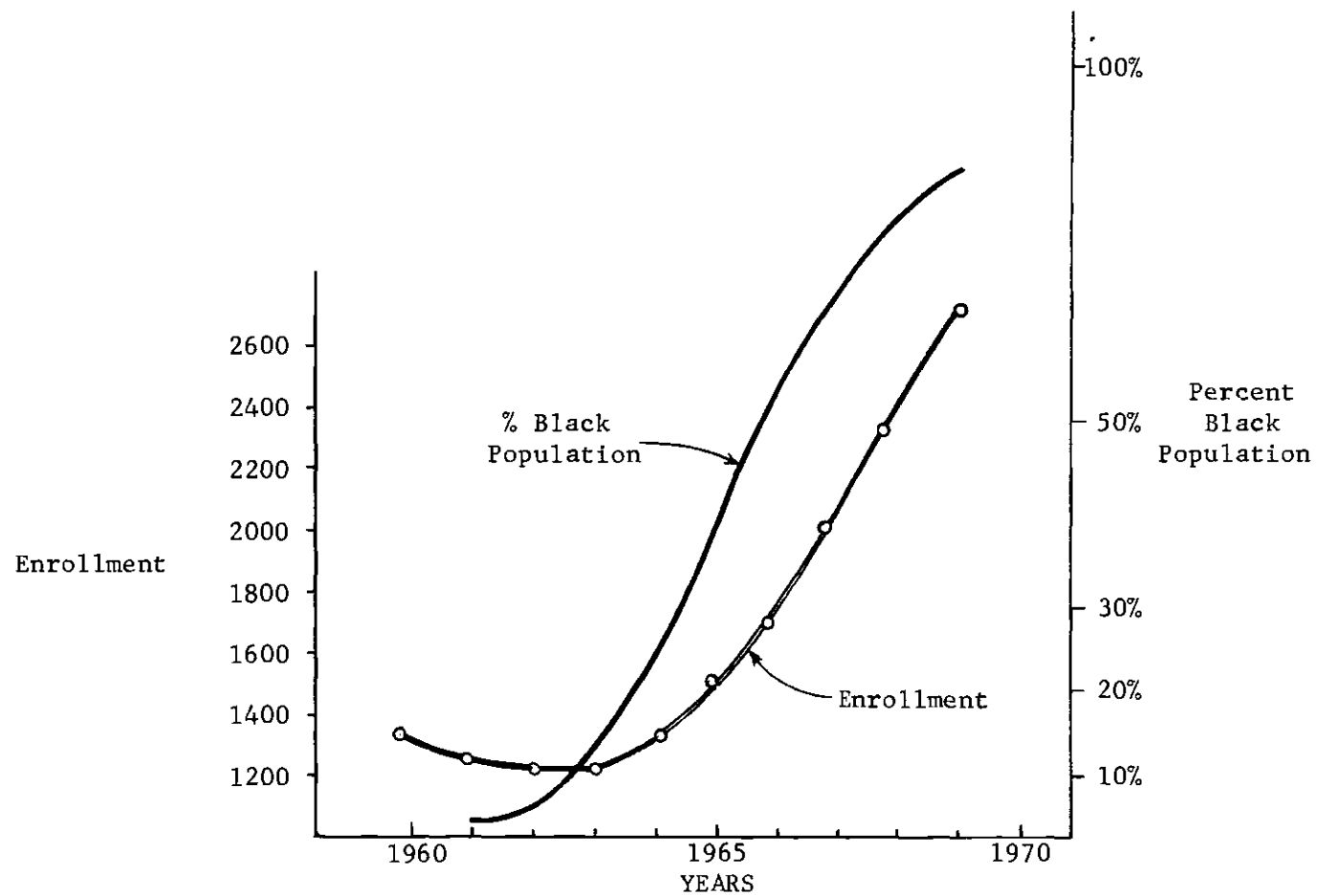


Figure 4. School Enrollment and Population Characteristics in Kirkwood and East Lake

### Need for Additional Schools

The major result of the increased enrollment was a severe and immediate need for more schools. About 2,700 elementary school children living in Kirkwood and East Lake were served by the two existing schools with capacities of about 500 and 700 students.

While new schools were being constructed, two temporary measures were instituted to provide for the students. Both measures provided children with a poor educational environment, although there were probably no other feasible measures available.<sup>30</sup>

Portable classrooms were placed on the playgrounds of existing schools. In addition to eliminating playgrounds, these portable classrooms probably taxed the capacity of service facilities in main school structures (e.g. cafeterias, auditoriums, and restroom facilities).

A church was rented for temporary use as a school. This church structure was considered adequate for use as a school without extensive renovations. In the case of East Lake and Kirkwood, there was no time for such renovations.

The school problems of two neighborhoods in Atlanta are not necessarily similar to those of other transition neighborhoods. Different results can arise from different circumstances.

Of the school boards in several cities from which information was requested, the most detailed explanation was received from the Chicago Board of Education. According to the Board, some neighborhoods in Chicago have had elementary school enrollment increases of 250 percent during racial transition. As in Atlanta, the Board attributes this to younger

and larger black families replacing older and smaller white families.<sup>31</sup>

The Philadelphia Board of Education responded that enrollment increases in Philadelphia transition neighborhoods were basically similar to those in Atlanta.<sup>32</sup>

#### Concern of Planners

If racial transition results in rising elementary school enrollment, planners should be concerned with providing adequate school facilities in such areas. A school plan based on enrollment forecasts not considering transition becomes obsolete if racial transition occurs. The need arises for new schools not included in the school plan and not programmed for funding and construction.

#### Other Possible Problems

Although a rapidly materialized need for additional schools was the major problem in the six Atlanta transition neighborhoods, other planning problems occur because of the changing needs of the population or because of the conditions resulting from racial change.

A lack of data prevented a precise documentation of such problems in the six Atlanta neighborhoods, but it was possible to show cause why certain problems relating to juvenile delinquency, day care centers, public recreation facilities, housing deterioration, public transit, and shopping facilities could occur.

#### Juvenile Delinquency

Racial transition creates conditions likely to increase juvenile delinquency. An unsettled environment is often created when white families



hastily move away and are replaced by black families. Such an environment leads juveniles to commit impulsive acts from which they might be restrained in a more settled neighborhood.

According to social scientists Eunice and George Grier in Equality and Beyond, neighborhoods that undergo racial transition experience a deterioration of the informal social controls that act to prevent anti-social behavior.

This contention is supported by the Commission on Race and Housing:

When occupants of a neighborhood are more or less completely replaced by a new group, the neighborhood system of standards and social controls is likely to be swept away, particularly if transition takes place rapidly. The new occupants may form their own system of social controls, but time is needed because they come as individuals, not as an organized group.<sup>33</sup>

These sources do not offer substantial documentation of this theory but they certainly do constitute sufficient reason to investigate juvenile delinquency in the Atlanta transition neighborhoods.

Statistics on juvenile delinquency arrests were made available for this study by Judge John S. Langford of the Fulton County Juvenile Court.

The yearly number of juvenile arrests by race was available since 1963 for three of the Atlanta transition neighborhoods: Adamsville, Center Hill, and Grove Park. A comparison of this information with the yearly population statistics for these neighborhoods is shown in Figure 5.

The statistics for Adamsville, Center Hill, and Grove Park appear to neither support nor contradict the theory of the Grier's and The Commission on Race and Housing. Center Hill and Grove Park did have substantial increases in delinquency arrests during racial transition, but the yearly fluctuations are large. Arrests continued to rise after transition

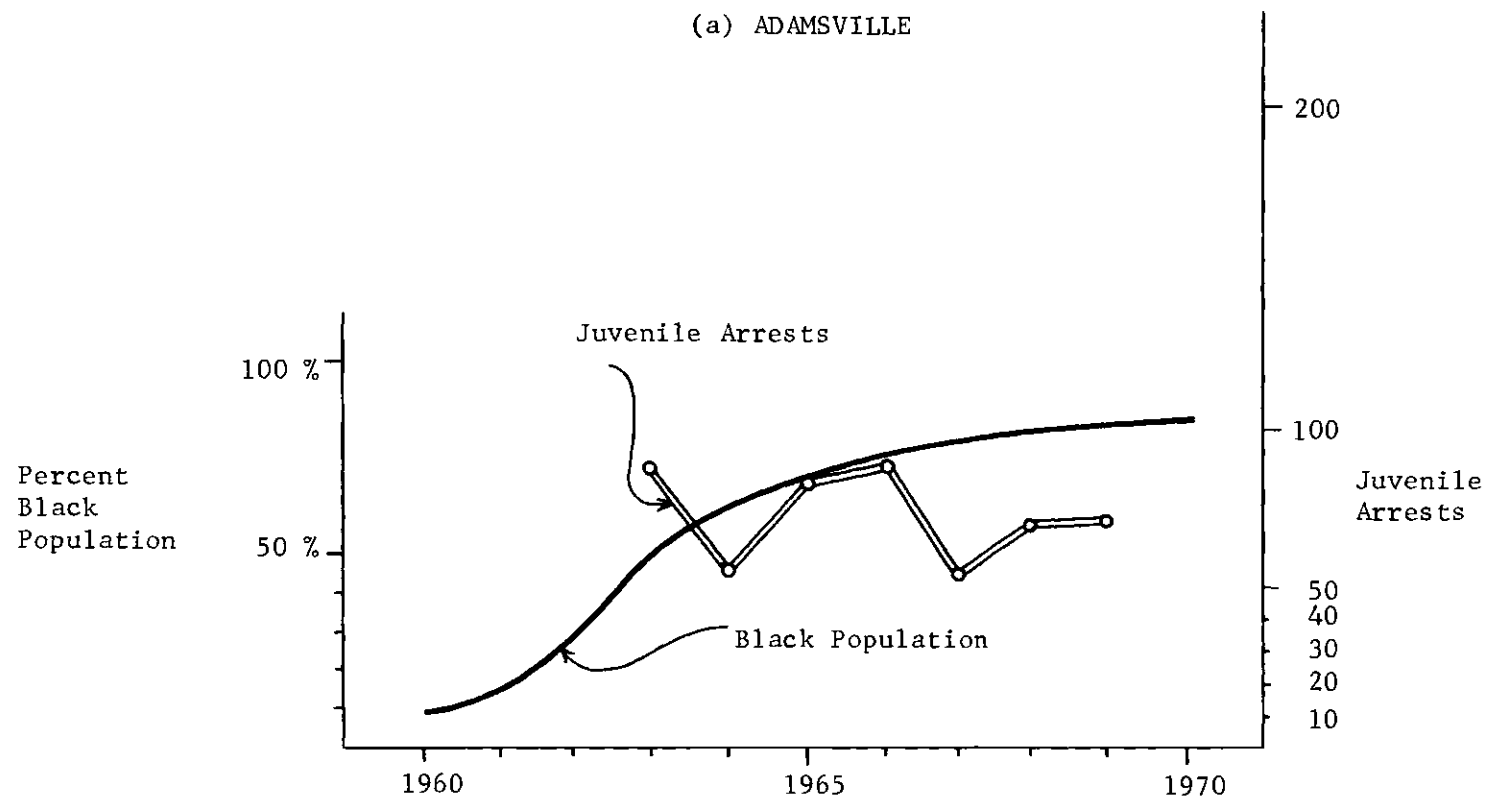


Figure 5. Juvenile Delinquency and Racial Transition in (a) Adamsville, (b) Center Hill, and (c) Grove Park

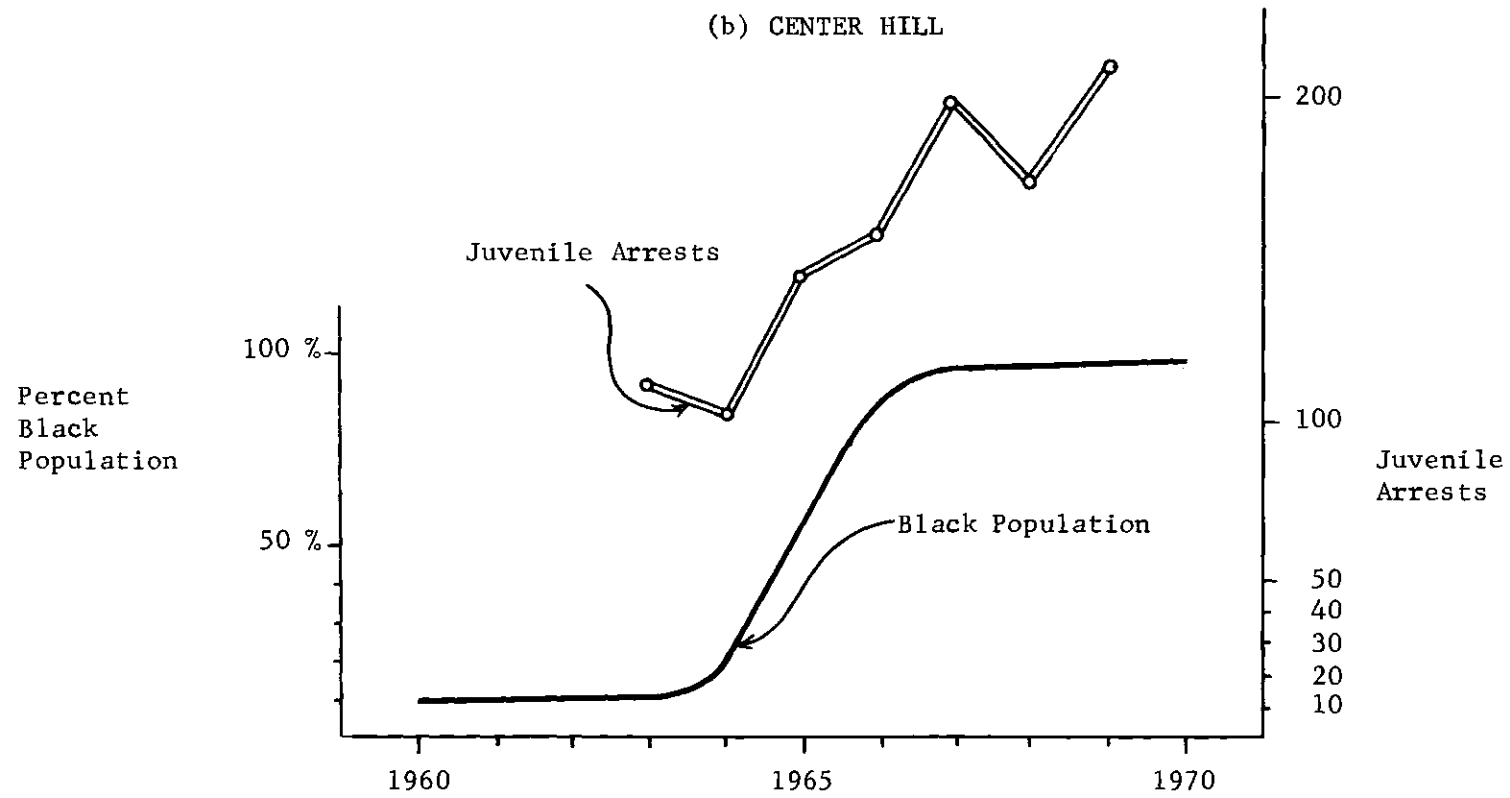


Figure 5. (Continued)

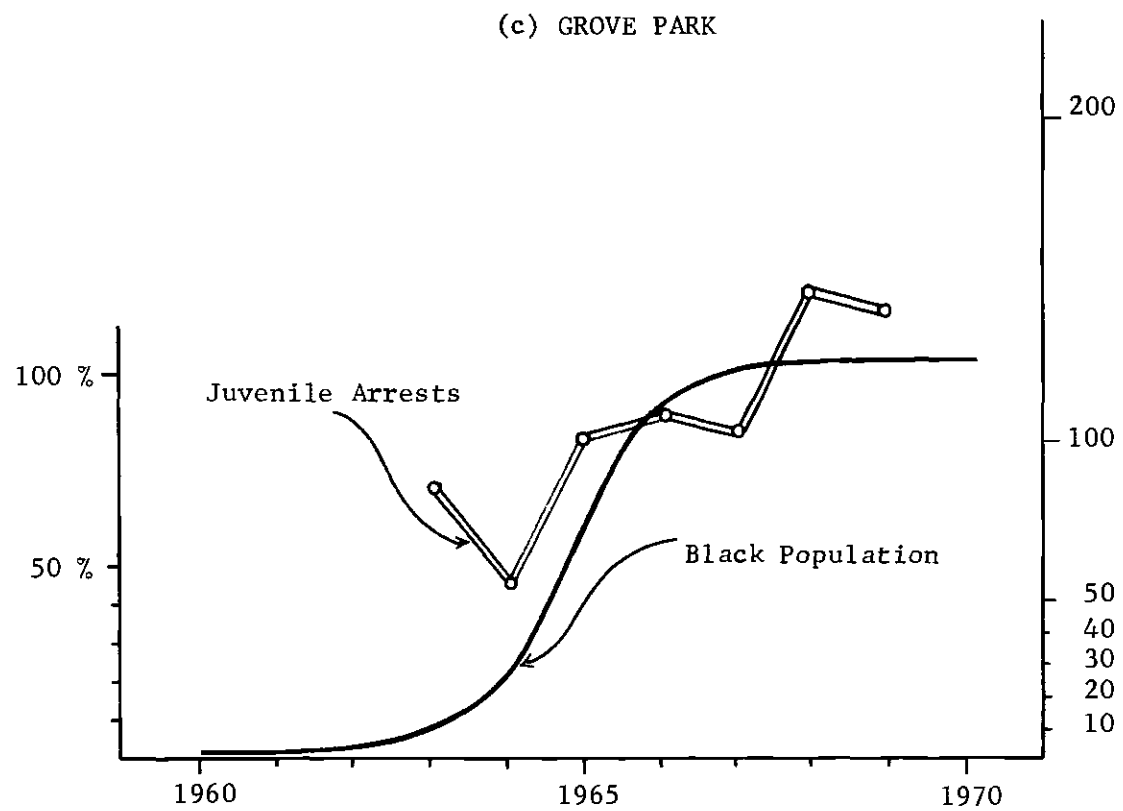


Figure 5. (Continued)

was complete and supposedly the neighborhoods became more "settled."

It is important to remember that the number of juvenile arrests is not necessarily equivalent to the number of juvenile crimes. A variation in enforcement policies results in trends in the number of arrests that do not represent trends in actual juvenile delinquency.

Juvenile delinquency is the direct concern of the police and the courts. Planners, however, should be concerned with a number of factors which can deter juvenile delinquency including ample educational and recreational opportunities, employment opportunities, as well as planning for generally safe and healthy living conditions.

#### Day Care Centers

Many working mothers rely on day care centers in order to continue working after a family is started. In many instances, when a neighborhood undergoes racial transition, the number of working mothers with young children increases greatly, resulting in a need for more day care facilities.

According to the day care licensing records of the Georgia Department of Family and Children Services, the need for day care centers increased in Center Hill, East Lake, and Kirkwood when these neighborhoods underwent racial transition. Racial transition in Adamsville preceded the availability of licensing records. Gordon-Peyton and Grove Park showed no apparent increased need.

During transition in Center Hill, East Lake, and Kirkwood, 19 new day care centers were opened. The licensing applications of several centers stated that the purpose for applying was that a need for more

centers had developed when black residents began moving into these neighborhoods. The need for day care centers was met by hastily established facilities that generally failed to meet the specified standards for operation as established by the State Legislature of Georgia (Act 55, H. B. #5, 1963 General Assembly).

The number of children attending day care centers (with an enrollment attendance of seven or more children) increased during transition. Center Hill showed an increase of about 350 children, Kirkwood about 450, and East Lake approximately 300. These estimates of use are not completely reliable because children living in a neighborhood do not necessarily attend a day care center in the same neighborhood.

The files of the Department of Family and Children Services show that many of the new centers had inexperienced staff members who had not taken the basic course in child care offered by the Department. The physical facilities were often inadequate and needed partitioning changes or more toilet facilities. A few of the centers had gone into operation illegally without a license from the State, without an inspection of the building by the city fire inspector, and without a special use permit, as required by the Atlanta zoning ordinance. In general, many of the children were receiving inadequate care.

The most probable cause of the need for more day care in the Atlanta transition neighborhoods was the presence of more working mothers after racial transition than before. According to the 1960 Census, Center Hill, East Lake, and Kirkwood had an unusually small number of working mothers with children under six years of age. Unfortunately, no informa-

tion is available on this statistic for any of the succeeding years.

An analysis of Census Tracts for Atlanta shows that, in 1960, predominantly black tracts generally had more working mothers with young children than white tracts, for all income levels. This would imply that a tract going from white to black might show an increase in this statistic. The analysis is shown in Figure 6.<sup>34</sup>

Information requested from the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services offers some support for the theory that the need for day care centers will increase when racial transition occurs. According to this Department, studies of the need for day care services in Chicago showed that black neighborhoods generally have more working mothers with young children, per family, than do white neighborhoods.

Planners, and especially advocate planners, should be concerned with day care service because of the economic and social importance of such a service. A mother, able to continue working because she can leave her children in capable care, can very substantially raise a family's income. Hence, planning to provide day care centers can contribute to achieving such community goals as an adequate family income for all citizens.

#### Public Recreation Facilities

Racial transition of a white residential neighborhood usually results in a need for additional recreation facilities. Facilities which adequately served the white population are inadequate to serve the new black population.

Each of the six Atlanta transition neighborhoods had a public

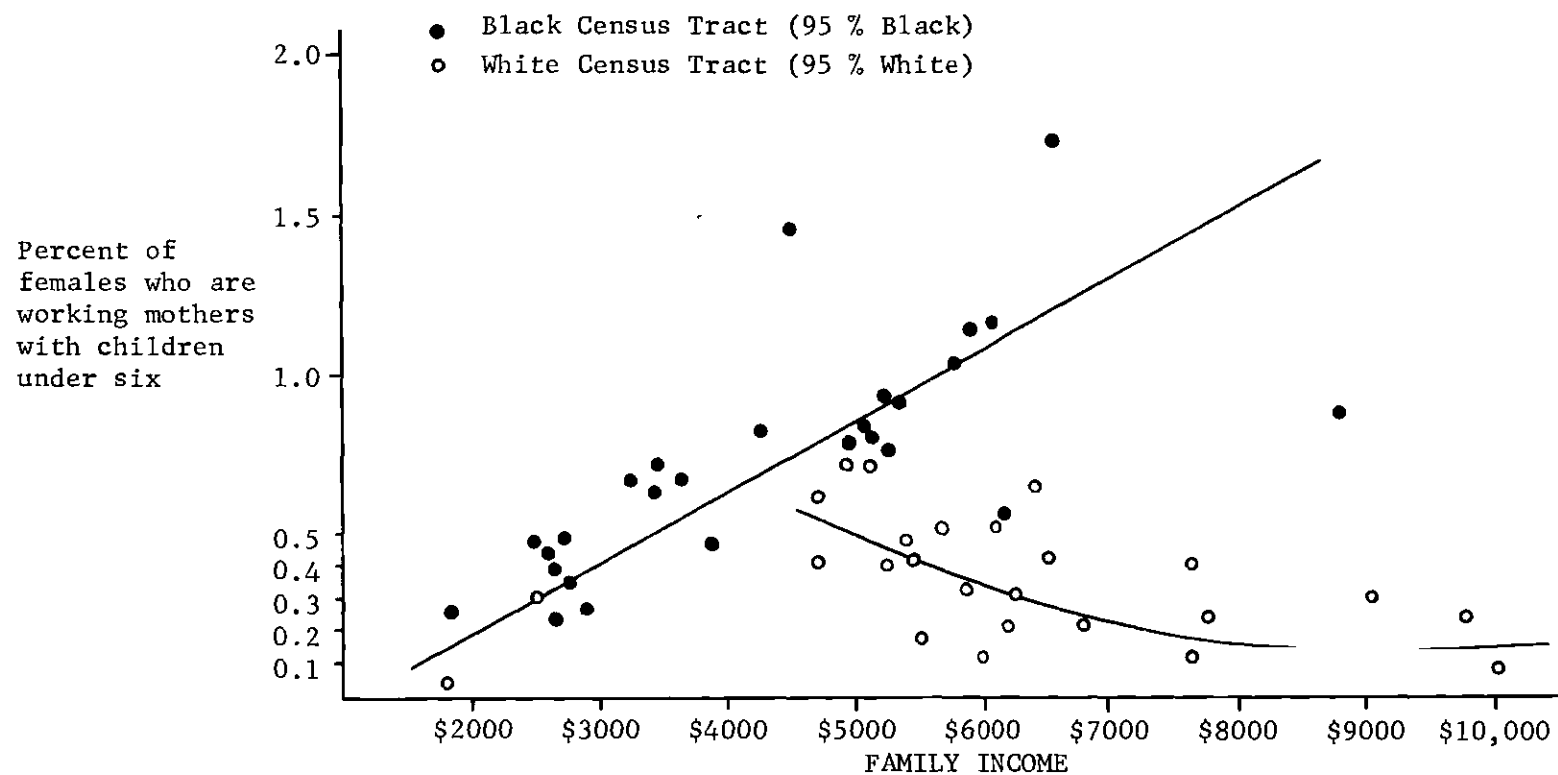


Figure 6. Family Income vs. Percent of Females Who Are Working Mothers with Children under Six Years Old



recreational facility operated by the Atlanta Department of Parks and Recreation. They varied from small craft and games centers to large facilities with gymnasiums and swimming pools. The Department maintains attendance records for the use of each center. Unfortunately these were available only for 1969. Hence it was impossible to relate yearly attendance at the facilities to the yearly population characteristics of the neighborhoods. However, in the opinion of the Director of the Department of Parks and Recreation and the members of the Department staff, attendance in these recreation centers doubled when the neighborhoods underwent racial transition.

Available records show that black Atlantans generally utilized public recreation facilities more than white Atlantans. For example, the Peachtree Hills Recreation Center in a predominantly white neighborhood was utilized by approximately 42,000 residents in 1969. An identical facility in Grove Park (serving a predominantly black district with one third the population) was utilized by 112,000 the same year.

This example merely indicates how greatly areas can vary and is not necessarily typical. In this case, white residents had alternate recreational opportunities not available to the black residents.

The records also show that a higher percentage of young children under twelve years of age use the centers in black neighborhoods than in white neighborhoods. Black senior citizens apparently use the facilities much less than white senior citizens. The records for different types of activities indicated significant differences in the types of activities that were popular in black and white neighborhoods.

Planners should be concerned about the possibility of changing or increasing needs for public recreation facilities in neighborhoods that undergo racial transition, or an increasing need for transportation to special recreational facilities, zoos, nature trails, or ocean beaches. If facilities are used significantly more after transition, an additional facility might be needed. Plans for parks and recreation facilities need to be modified as new situations develop.

#### Housing Deterioration

For several economic and social reasons, housing might deteriorate when a neighborhood undergoes racial change. The pre-conception that black residents always result in the decline of a neighborhood is obviously racist, but under certain conditions a neighborhood might become blighted and single family homes may be converted into tenements.

Documentation of housing deterioration in the six Atlanta transition neighborhoods was impossible because the housing code was not uniformly enforced throughout the periods of transition. Comparing recorded violations for different years would have little meaning because the statistics were derived differently. There are three reasons why a racially changing neighborhood might experience housing deterioration.

If a white residential neighborhood has already begun to show some indications of deterioration before black residents move in, the deterioration may be hastened by rapid racial transition. If the black families have overcommitted their resources to purchase a house, they may have insufficient funds to properly maintain the structure. Economic factors may lead the new owner to subdivide (usually without the required city permit)

his house into additional dwelling units for rental.

The residents of a rapidly changing neighborhood might not have the sense of neighborhood pride which motivates residents of more established neighborhoods to properly maintain their houses.

A city government might also contribute to housing deterioration by not properly enforcing the housing code or by not providing adequate city services.

Of course, if these circumstances are not present in a transition area, the probability of housing deterioration is greatly reduced. Adamsville and Gordon-Peyton underwent racial transition and the housing still appears attractive. Both are upper middle class black neighborhoods.

#### Public Transit

There are several indications that the need for public transit serving a residential area increases with racial transition. Perhaps the most important indication is that techniques developed by the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for predicting transit usage show that race is a factor in transit usage. Black residential areas usually produce more transit trips per person than white areas, if similar service is provided, although the situation is somewhat complicated by the fact that income level is a larger factor than race in transit usage.

Each of the six Atlanta residential areas that was studied had an extension of transit service during or immediately after racial transition. Since the Atlanta Transit Company was not subsidized at the time of transition, service was extended only to those residential areas where

there was evidence of sufficient need to support the service economically. This implies that a need for better transit service developed in each of the six residential areas as they underwent transition. The validity of this implication is questionable because, since 1960, there has been a general expansion of transit routes in Atlanta. Also, there is a tradition of black ridership in Atlanta that may not be present in other cities.

Assuming the need for transit did increase in the Atlanta transition areas, evidently this presented no problem because service was extended to meet the need. The Atlanta Transit Company has had sufficient resources to expand service to new areas, but this could be a problem in other cities where there might be difficulties in extending service.

#### Shopping Facilities

Adequate shopping facilities for groceries and other convenience goods are needed in most residential areas. One of the major factors which determines a neighborhood's capability to attract and support adequate shopping facilities is the effective buying power of the neighborhood. The marketing practices of a shopping facility are also factors in determining how much of the effective buying power will be expended in that facility. If a neighborhood undergoes racial transition, its effective buying power might decline due to a lower average family income after transition or because new black families have committed too much of their incomes to the purchase of homes. Marketing practices which were effective with the white residents might become ineffective with the new black residents and, if these practices are not properly changed, the facility's volume of business will decline beyond the decline that might be attributed

to limited buying power of the new residents.

Of the six Atlanta transition areas studied, only one exhibited a decline in shopping facilities during the period of racial transition. During racial transition in Grove Park, several small retail establishments and one chain supermarket went out of business, according to the records of the Atlanta Community Council.

There is no documentation that these facilities closed as a result of declining buying power accompanying racial transition. The smaller establishments may have been obsolete and the supermarket may have been at a non-competitive location. But the staff member of the Atlanta Community Council with responsibility for Grove Park believes that the area did undergo a decline in buying power when transition occurred and the facilities closed because of this. The records of the Council also state that the area needed shopping facilities after racial transition but lacked the additional buying power to support the necessary facilities.

The results of the study of the Atlanta transition neighborhoods warrants the conclusion that the community-wide needs of a neighborhood can and do change when racial transition occurs. Furthermore, transition in these neighborhoods occurred so rapidly that it was not possible to provide necessary facilities (especially schools) to meet the needs of the residents.

## CHAPTER IV

### PLANNING GUIDELINES FOR RACIALLY CHANGING NEIGHBORHOODS

The previous chapters have discussed the factors which tend to cause racial transition and some of the planning problems that might result when racial transition occurs. This chapter discusses the requirements for planning in racially changing neighborhoods, the necessity of a process by which effective planning can be accomplished for these neighborhoods, and the establishment of such a process.

#### Requirements of Planning with Racially Changing Neighborhoods

The requirements of planning with racially changing neighborhoods must be based on both the nature of comprehensive planning and of racial transition.

While there is some disagreement as to what constitutes comprehensive planning, the following appears to be a broad, satisfactory definition:

Comprehensive planning should be defined as the work of those who engage in efforts, within a delimited geographic area ranging from a neighborhood to an international region, to identify and order the physical, social and economic relationships implicit in development programs.

Comprehensive planning may be for a government, a group of governments, or private organizations; the essence is that it have an area determination, be oriented toward determination and achievement of goals and formulate a development plan which orders effectively the physical, economic and social relationships.<sup>35</sup>

In order to relate the comprehensive planning process to the nature of racial transition, it is necessary to generally examine three sectors of comprehensive planning: (1) the steps of the planning process, (2) the subject matter to which the steps are commonly applied, and (3) the geographic unit for which the steps are applied. Professor Louis B. Wetmore (University of Illinois), writing in Urban Planning in Transition, illustrates these sectors in a "cube diagram."<sup>36</sup>

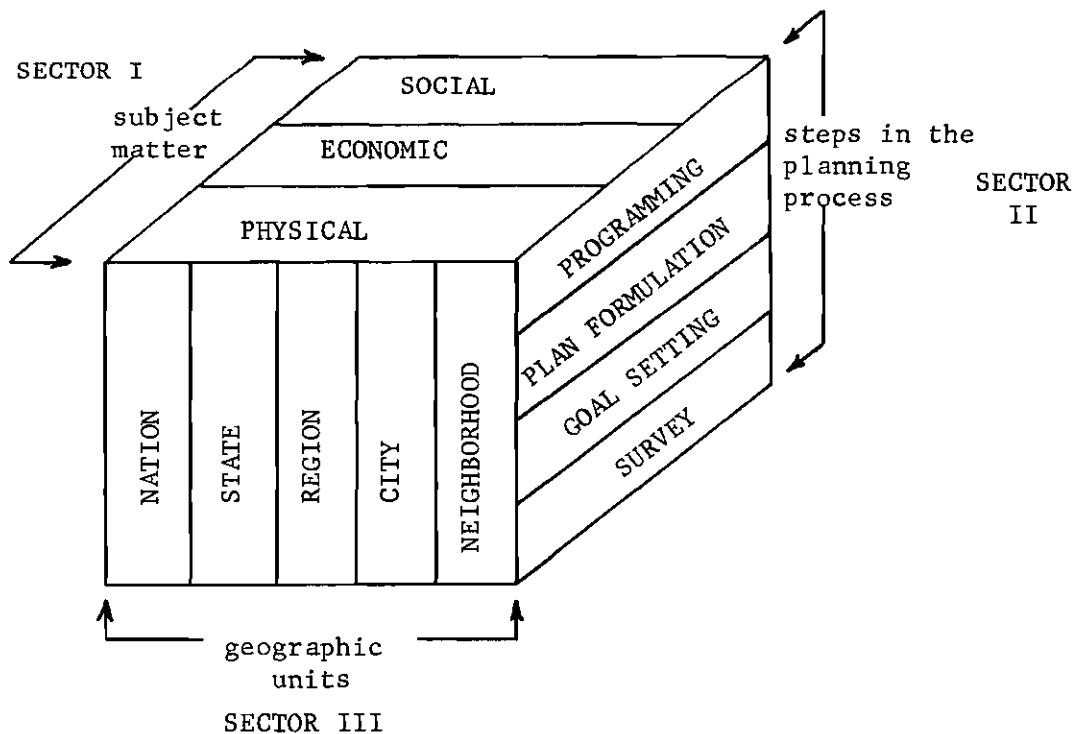


Figure 7. Sectors of Comprehensive Planning

Professor Wetmore admits that his cube diagram is somewhat simplified and it appears that Sector I could be expanded to include education or health and Sector II to include implementation. However, Professor Wetmore's

diagram is useful in providing a framework for the full scope of comprehensive planning and for isolating a particular planning activity for further discussion.

The particular activity in the cube diagram which most pertains to the situation which results in racial transition is goal setting in cities and neighborhoods involving physical, economic, and social matters related to housing. The specific goals selected in this activity should be designed to alleviate the unjust aspects of racial transition (e.g. discrimination or "blockbusting") and to prevent the types of problems discussed in Chapter III. The following are examples of these specific goals:

A. Maximum choice of patterns of residence in regard to location and to the kind of living unit desired.

B. Heterogeneous contact within the community.<sup>37</sup>

Proceeding with the steps in Sector II of the cube diagram, long range development plans should be formulated to achieve the desired goals. Naturally these plans would be oriented towards the evolution of racially integrated and stable housing patterns. But, the mere formulation of such a plan is not sufficient. Achievement of the goals of a city requires the use of both a plan and the establishment of an orderly and continuous process by which the city will advance toward the plan.<sup>38</sup>

In the case of planning for integrated housing patterns, the continuous process could take the form of enforcing fair housing legislation and developing programs to build interracial relations in a city.

However, even the existence of a long range plan and a continuous



process does not insure success. According to John T. Howard (Professor of City Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology),

At the start of city planning as a governmental function in this country, the emphasis was on the preparation of a single, authoritative, and long range plan. We have been getting away from that a little and realizing that the details of this overview of the city are not going to be carried into effect under the "design eye" of the city planning agency.<sup>39</sup>

As explained in Chapter II, racial transition is a very complex and unpredictable social and economic phenomenon. But the problems discussed in Chapter III show that the community-wide needs of neighborhood residents can change greatly with racial transition. Racial transition appears to be the type of phenomenon which is not "under the 'design eye'" referred to by Howard. Some form of flexibility is needed in the comprehensive planning process in order to effectively provide for the needs of racially changing neighborhoods.

The concept of flexibility has many facets. One form, sometimes referred to as "tolerance," is the provision of a safety factor for a recognized range of inaccuracy. Another form constitutes a "reserve for contingencies for unforeseen events likely to occur but that are specifically unpredictable."<sup>40</sup>

In the case of racial transition, providing flexibility in the comprehensive plan through "tolerance" does not seem desirable because the "range of inaccuracy" is very large. A more appropriate approach is through providing a "reserve for contingencies," or contingency planning to provide for the needs of racially changing neighborhoods.

### Proposed Planning Process

Figure 8 illustrates a proposed planning process to provide for the needs of racially changing neighborhoods. The process is designed to guide a logical analysis of the factors which tend to cause racial transition and the problems which might occur in neighborhoods that have potential to undergo racial change and transition. This analysis serves as a basis for developing neighborhood contingency plans to be activated and implemented, if and when a neighborhood begins to undergo racial change.

This proposed planning process merely presents some basic steps that would need to be performed in order to plan to provide for the needs of racially changing neighborhoods. Like other planning processes which have been adopted and utilized, refinements and improvements in the process can be made only through experimentation and actual use.

It is not intended for this planning process to replace any portion of the comprehensive planning process. Long range planning for a more racially integrated society is certainly necessary. But this long range planning cannot be effective if there is no way to adequately deal with short range problems arising from racial transition. These short range problems can destroy the basis of any long range plans evolved by the comprehensive planning process.

#### Analysis

The analysis segment of the proposed planning process consists of the six steps shown in Figure 8. This analysis is designed to guide the development of information needed to outline neighborhood contingency plans.

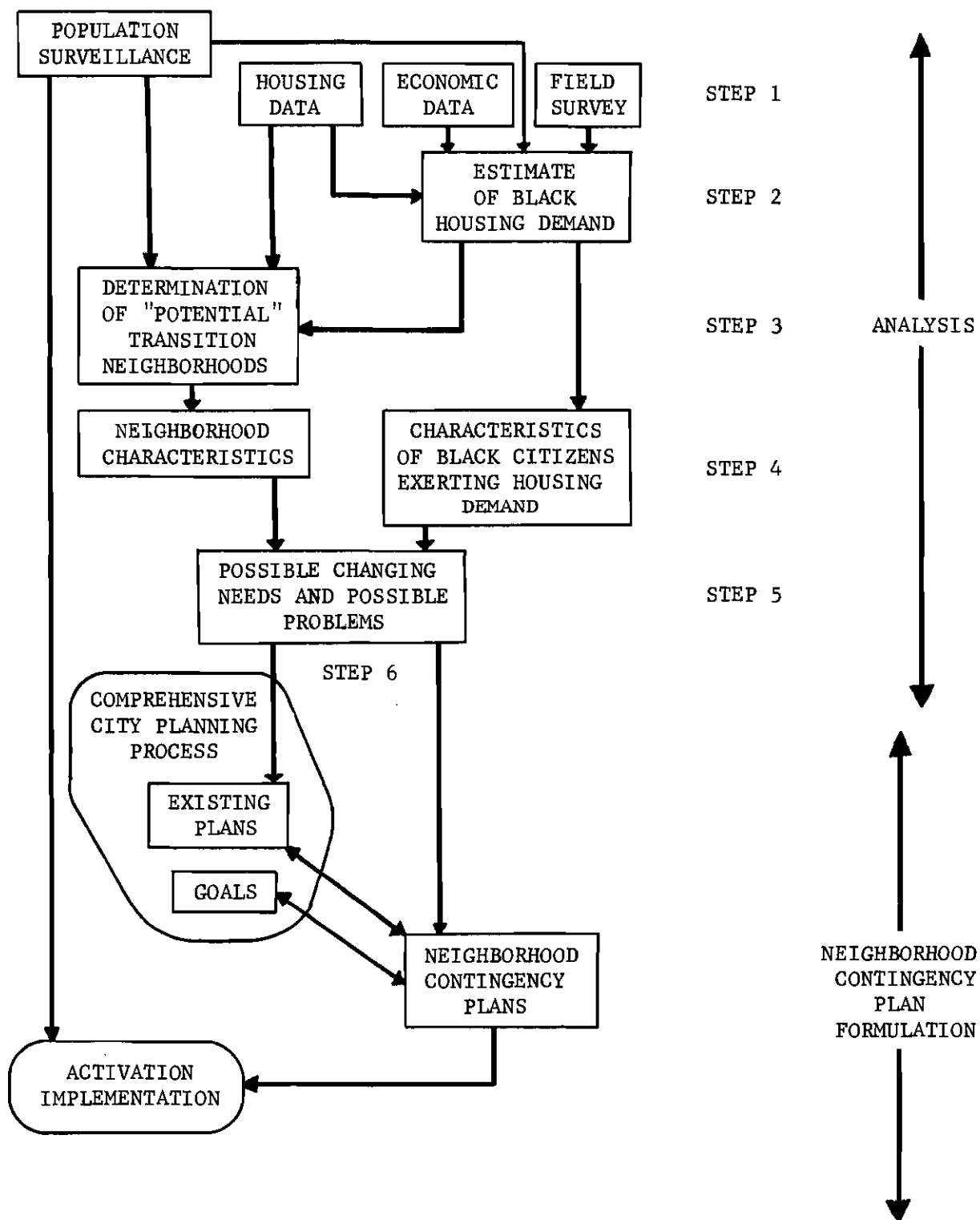


Figure 8. Proposed Planning Process for Racially Changing Neighborhoods

Step 1. Step 1 of the analysis is to collect the information to be used in the succeeding steps. Information is needed to estimate black housing demand and to determine which white neighborhoods are "potential" for racial change and transition.

Accurate, up-to-date, population information is required in order to plan for the needs of racially changing neighborhoods. This information is required in order to know which neighborhoods are changing racially and the rate of change, in order to determine which white neighborhoods are "potential" for racial change and transition. The number of people and their racial characteristics are essential information, but additional information such as age distribution (to estimate families by family phase) and family income would also be useful.

A program of population surveillance should be established to maintain current population information. This program could be similar to that of the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission (monitoring of building and demolition permits and field surveys), perhaps with refinements to be more useful in the proposed planning process. It could also be similar to the program of the Philadelphia School District as explained in Appendix F.

Other elements of Step 1 include obtaining current housing and economic information. For the purpose of the proposed planning process, the Census probably contains sufficient information, although there might need to be a program to periodically update the information needed in the proposed planning process. In some cases it might be necessary to obtain the Census information by smaller geographical areas where Census tracts

do not constitute economically and socially homogeneous areas.

Field surveys are needed to obtain certain information. Sample interviews are appropriate to determine the attitudes of black citizens on housing preferences and neighborhood preferences. Information on the number of black families which have recently experienced changes in family phase could also be obtained.

Step 2. Step 2 of the proposed planning process is to estimate black housing demand. This is important because rising black housing demand is a major factor in the racial transition of white residential neighborhoods.

A precise estimate of black housing demand is probably not necessary. The estimate should determine the magnitude of black housing demand, stratified by housing types, the geographical areas where the demand is located, and any geographical preferences associated with the demand.

Black housing demand can be estimated by an analysis of the information compiled in Step 1. This analysis would primarily consist of a comparison of (1) the need for better or different housing among black citizens, (2) the economic resources of these citizens which could be committed to housing, and (3) their desire to make this commitment. This comparison should be qualitative and involves judgment because of the difficulty in precisely measuring need, economic resources, and especially desire. Using this qualitative comparison a quantitative estimate of black housing demand is made.

The extent to which black housing demand has increased is determined by examining the trends in black population growth and economic

gains. Plans for urban renewal and highway projects are examined to determine whether a large number of black families will be displaced by some pending project. Such a displacement would result in an increased demand for housing in the future.

Step 3. Step 3 of the proposed planning process is to determine which neighborhoods have "potential" for racial change and transition. This is important in order to define geographically the areas for which neighborhood contingency plans will be developed.

Designation of a neighborhood as "potential" for racial change is not a prediction that racial change or transition will occur. It merely designates those neighborhoods which have the type of housing that matches a significant amount of black housing demand and which meet the locational criteria discussed in Chapter II.

A small sample survey of the white residents' attitudes toward the prospect of racial change in their neighborhood would be valuable in indicating whether they would move if racial change did occur.

Step 4. Step 4 is to inventory the characteristics of "potential" transition neighborhoods and the black citizens exerting housing demand. This inventory would furnish information to be used in determining how the community-wide needs of the people might change with racial transition, whether existing neighborhood facilities can accommodate these changes, and what problems might develop.

Neighborhood facilities including schools, parks, public recreation facilities, transit service, and shopping facilities, both within and outside the neighborhood, should be inventoried.

The characteristics of both the existing white population and the black citizens exerting housing demand should be inventoried, including school children, working mothers, recreation activities, consumer characteristics, and transportation needs.

Step 5. Step 5 of the analysis is to compare the inventory of each "potential" transition neighborhood with the inventory of the characteristics of those black citizens exerting housing demand for the type of housing and neighborhood characteristics which are in a particular "potential" neighborhood. The purpose of this comparison is to determine how the community-wide needs of each potential white neighborhood might change, if and when a neighborhood undergoes racial transition. This information should serve as a basis for developing a neighborhood contingency plan for each neighborhood. For example, if the families exerting black housing demand relevant to a particular potential neighborhood have four times the average number of elementary school children per family as do the white residents, the needs of the population for school facilities will certainly change if the neighborhood undergoes racial transition. If the inventory shows that the school facilities cannot accommodate these changing needs, additional facilities will be needed. The problems discussed in Chapter III could serve as a guide in Step 5.

Step 6. The last step of the analysis segment of the proposed planning process is to examine existing plans developed through the traditional comprehensive planning process, with regard to the possible problems or changing needs that were described through Step 5. Perhaps some of the existing plans, if implemented satisfactorily, would eliminate possible

problems. For example, the school plan might call for a school in a particular neighborhood and this school could accommodate any increase in school children due to racial transition.

### Formulation

The results of the analysis should be used to formulate neighborhood contingency plans to be activated and implemented if and when a particular "potential" white neighborhood begins to experience racial change and transition. A neighborhood contingency plan would contain a number of elements designed to provide for the changing needs of the population that are likely to occur if transition occurs. The purpose of the neighborhood contingency plan is threefold.

1. To install some flexibility in the recommendations of the comprehensive planning process so as to insure the provision of some resources in the capital expenditures program to provide for the needs of racially changing neighborhoods. For example, if it appears a number of elementary schools will be needed if certain "potential" neighborhoods undergo racial change, the city's school plan should reflect the possibility of this need arising.
2. To provide some immediate action programs that might avoid a white selling panic and hence the acute problems of rapid racial transition, such as a neighborhood education program concerning racial change.
3. To provide a preliminary basis for further planning to provide for the needs of racially changing neighborhoods after change starts, and to provide a framework for any widely held and commonly accepted community goals such as the stabilization of racially integrated neighborhoods.

Therefore, a neighborhood contingency plan would provide some of the benefits of advanced planning such as programmed funding, establish an effective planning process in racially changing neighborhoods through some immediate action programs, and provide a basis for additional planning to



meet changing needs after the racial change begins.

A neighborhood contingency plan should contain some elements that bear on the process of racial transition itself and how it can be influenced or modified so as to minimize problems. These would be elements are designed to slow the rate of racial transition or to stabilize integrated neighborhoods after racial change occurs. For example, a detailed neighborhood education campaign could be designed in order to alleviate fear among white residents and prevent "panic selling."

If black home-seekers could be assured equivalent housing opportunities in other (non-potential) neighborhoods, it would be desirable to attempt to slow the rate of racial transition and avoid "panic selling" and rapid racial transition. Rapid racial transition causes needs to change (at an unusually rapid rate) and causes more disruption of the neighborhood. Slow transition offers more time to assess and provide for the community-wide needs of the population.

Perhaps the most important elements of a contingency plan would be those which call for capital expenditures. Based on the analysis, it may well become evident that a neighborhood will require additional schools and possibly recreation facilities if racial transition occurs. The elements detailing the needs for these facilities will have to be coordinated with the comprehensive planning process including the school plan and the public recreation plan. Also, the capital expenditures program will have to be modified to incorporate the needs for new facilities arising from racial transition. Some judgment will have to be used in making this modification. For example, if seven contingency plans call for new schools,

perhaps funding should be programmed for two or three new schools to be built in racially changing neighborhoods. It probably would not be reasonable to assume all "potential" transition neighborhoods will experience racial change and transition.

Other elements that might be in a neighborhood contingency plan would help to establish an effective planning process with some immediate action programs and also provide a basis for further planning. These elements might include the following:

1. Housing Code Element--This element could provide for a change in the priorities of neighborhoods in which the housing code is enforced. The changing neighborhood would be placed at a higher priority.
2. Day Care Element--This element could consist of a prior commitment by the State agency responsible for day care centers. The State might enforce the minimum standard requirements more vigorously and also conduct additional courses to provide training for residents wishing to establish centers to serve the neighborhood.
3. Shopping Facility Element--This element might consist of a program to monitor the activity and marketing practices of facilities serving the neighborhood. This could give an early warning if a racially changing neighborhood is on the verge of losing adequate shopping facilities.
4. Juvenile Delinquency Element--If juvenile delinquency becomes a problem there will be a need for better police protection and some programs to affect the causes of delinquency. The contingency plan might consist of a commitment from the police department and an agreement with youth organizations such as the Boy Scouts to encourage programs if called upon.
5. Public Transit Element--This element might consist of a plan to survey transit needs at some time after the contingency plan is activated.

### Planning Function for Racially Changing Neighborhoods

Planning to provide for the needs of racially changing neighborhoods requires that some capable local agency undertake the function of preparing contingency plans for neighborhoods with potential for racial transition. Furthermore, there must be a method of activating and implementing these contingency plans when they are needed (after the occurrence of "penetration" and the start of "invasion" as described in Chapter II).

Two types of local agencies can undertake the planning function for racially changing neighborhoods: (1) an officially established city planning commission or department or (2) a non-government advocate organization of citizens interested in the problems of racial transition or housing discrimination. In either case, a professionally capable staff is needed to formulate neighborhood contingency plans or to engage, supervise, and coordinate a consultant's formulation of such plans.

There are several advantages to placing the contingency planning function in a city's official planning agency rather than with an advocate organization. First, it facilitates the coordination of contingency planning with the comprehensive planning process. Second, existing lines of communication between the planning agency and other city agencies could be utilized in the preparation of contingency plans. Finally, the city agency could probably provide the staff and funding for contingency planning more readily than could an advocate organization.

One advantage of placing the contingency planning with an advocate group is that such a group might be more responsive to the needs of racially changing neighborhoods. City planning agencies are within local

governments and produce plans which reflect the views of political leaders.<sup>40</sup>

Considering the relative advantages, it appears that, generally, an official planning agency could better undertake the function of preparing neighborhood contingency plans provided that political leadership is committed to providing for the needs of racially changing neighborhoods. However, if the contingency planning function by a city planning agency is to be effective, the city's political leadership must be committed to providing for the needs of racially changing neighborhoods. It is difficult, for such a commitment involves political risks that many political leaders would rather avoid. The difficulties of managing a city government, subject to divergent pressures, often causes political leaders to avoid becoming associated with a complicated issue<sup>41</sup> such as racial transition.

The contingency planning function could be placed with an advocate organization in two ways: (1) the organization itself assuming the function, or (2) the political leaders of a city officially charging the organization with the function. The second method requires a political decision similar to that faced when placing the function with a planning agency and presents the same difficulties.

Whether neighborhood contingency plans are developed by a city planning agency or by an advocate organization, the plans must be activated and implemented when racial change starts. Coordinated programs of a variety of public and private agencies are required to implement neighborhood contingency plans. Decisions by several government agencies and

political leaders to respond effectively to the needs of racially changing neighborhoods are needed. While numerous factors influence these decisions, neighborhood contingency plans must demonstrate that they are effective in avoiding the problems that develop from racial transition. Additional research is needed to determine how neighborhood contingency plans could be activated and implemented. Experimental neighborhood contingency plans should be prepared and implemented as part of this research.

The results of this present study should be useful to planning agencies or advocate organizations in two ways, depending on the objectives of the particular agency. First, for those agencies which do not find it practical to undertake a full contingency planning effort, this study can serve as a basis for developing an understanding of the causes and problems of racial transition. Second, for those agencies which are actually prepared to deal with the problems of racial transition, this study offers planning guidelines for racially changing neighborhoods.

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SELECTED RESPONSES TO POPULATION DATA REQUESTS  
FROM TWENTY-SIX METROPOLITAN PLANNING AGENCIES



JOSEPH L. ALIOTO, MAYOR

# DEPARTMENT OF CITY PLANNING

100 LARKIN STREET • CIVIC CENTER • SAN FRANCISCO • 94102

ALLAN B. JACOBS, DIRECTOR OF PLANNING  
LYNN E. PIO, ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

November 17, 1969

COMMISSIONERS  
MORTIMER FLEISHHACKER, JR.  
PRESIDENT  
JAMES S. KEARNEY  
VICE PRESIDENT  
WILLIAM M. BRINTON  
WALTER S. NEWMAN  
MRS. CHARLES B. PORTER  
THOMAS J. MELLON  
CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER  
JAMES K. CARR  
MANAGER OF UTILITIES

Mr. Richard M. Riemer  
Georgia Tech  
Box 37289  
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

Dear Mr. Riemer:

To the best of my knowledge, the yearly data for individual census tracts re racial occupancy of dwelling units that you request is not available for San Francisco. I rather doubt that you'll get it for any city, by tract.

I'm sorry we can't be of help to you.

Sincerely,

Allan B. Jacobs  
Director of Planning





BOSTON REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY City Hall / Room 900, 1 City Hall Square / Boston, Massachusetts 02201 / Telephone (617) 722-4300

November 19, 1969

Mr. Richard M. Riemer  
Georgia Tech  
Box 37289  
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

Dear Mr. Riemer:

Reference is made to your request of November 11, 1969. The data you wish are not available for any year since 1960. The state census conducted in 1965 is not comparable with the federal census and no other censuses have been conducted. The voting list and police list, both updated every year, do not contain information on race or vacancies.

Your research sounds very interesting. I am sorry we are unable to be of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas O'Brien  
Director of Research

TOB:dgb



# CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA CITY PLANNING COMMISSION  
13th Floor, City Hall Annex  
S. E. Cor., Juniper & Filbert Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107  
MU 6-9700

WILLIAM B. WALKER, Chairman  
JOSEPH E. COLEMAN  
FRED T. CORLETO  
SANDER L. FIELD  
S. HARRY GALFAND  
CHARLES E. INGERSOLL  
EDWARD J. MARTIN  
JAMES J. O'NEILL

EDMUND N. BACON, Executive Director  
R. DAMON CHILDS, Assistant Planning Director  
ROBERT PATERNOSTER, Assistant Planning Director

November 20, 1969

Mr. Richard M. Riemer  
Georgia Tech  
Box 37289  
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

Dear Mr. Riemer:

I regret, not to be able to provide you with the data you requested. There are no yearly figures available.

The 1960 Census data can be obtained by checking the U. S. Census reports you should be able to find in your libraries.

Enclosed find a Population Estimate for 1967, you might find useful.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Else Marx

EM/jc  
Enclosure



**DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT**

THE EQUITABLE BUILDING • 10 N. CALVERT STREET • BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202 • 301-727-3400

MAYOR  
Thomas J. D'Alessandro, III

COMMISSIONER  
Robert C. Embry, Jr.

November 21, 1969

Mr. Richard N. Riemer  
Box 37289  
Georgia Institute of Technology  
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

Dear Mr. Riemer:

We have received your letter requesting census tract data for Baltimore City compiled annually over a ten year or longer period. Unfortunately, we do not have dwelling unit data by race for later than that from the 1960 Census of Housing.

We regret that we are unable to supply you with the information you desire.

Sincerely yours,

SARA MARTIN (Mrs.)  
Director of Research



**GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004**

November 24, 1969

Mr. Richard M. Riemer  
Georgia Tech  
Box 37289  
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

Dear Mr. Riemer:

This is in response to your letter dated November 11, 1969.  
The data which you request is not available on a yearly basis.  
Figures for 1940, 1950 and 1960 are available in census publications.

There is enclosed a booklet entitled "Community Renewal in  
the District of Columbia," which contains some of the data you seek.

It is my observation that numbers are less important than neighborhood attitudes and efforts in sustaining a stable mixed community. There are several stable mixed communities in the city and several others that changed from white to black with stunning rapidity. These changes were usually started and promoted by "block busting."

Good luck on your project.

Sincerely,

John S. Crocker, Director  
Renewal Operations Office

CITY OF LOS ANGELES  
CALIFORNIA



SAM YORTY  
MAYOR

CITY PLANNING  
COMMISSION  
—  
JOHN J. POLLON  
PRESIDENT  
MELVILLE C. BRANCH  
VICE-PRESIDENT  
ELIZABETH K. ARMSTRONG  
DAVID S. MOIR  
EDWARD J. CROWLEY  
—  
RAYMOND I. NORMAN  
SECRETARY

DEPARTMENT OF  
CITY PLANNING  
381 CITY HALL  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF. 90012  
624-5211  
—  
CALVIN S. HAMILTON  
DIRECTOR

December 3, 1969

Mr. Richard M. Riemer  
Georgia Tech  
Box 37289  
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

Dear Mr. Riemer:

Thank you for your recent letter requesting information on individual census tracts in the City of Los Angeles.

Unfortunately, this data is not available on a yearly basis. The City of Los Angeles' Planning Department updates the 1960 census information on a semiannual basis but only insofar as total population, elementary school enrollment and number of dwelling units are concerned. (A copy of the most recent estimate is enclosed.) For the particular data you requested, therefore, the most recent information we have available is contained in the 1960 census.

I would suggest that the UCLA Real Estate Research Department might be of some assistance to you.

I would be very pleased if you would send a copy of your final paper to the General Research Section, Los Angeles City Planning Department, 316 West Second Street, 8th Floor, Los Angeles 90012.

Sincerely,

CALVIN S. HAMILTON  
Director of Planning

Glen O. Johnson  
Chief Systems & Data Division

CSH:GOJ:cs  
Enc.



# City of Cincinnati

RICHARD L. KRABACH  
CITY MANAGER

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT  
CINCINNATI, OHIO 45202

PETER KORY  
DIRECTOR

December 5, 1969

Mr. Richard M. Riemer  
Georgia Tech  
Box 37289  
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

Dear Mr. Riemer:

In reference to your letter of November 11, 1969,  
we have the following information available:

1. Number of occupied dwelling units by race  
1960 census and 1965 estimate.
2. Average income by race.  
1960 census      1965 survey (no race)
3. Average education by race  
1960 census
4. Per cent of houses dilapidated and deteriorating  
1960 census  
Various surveys for small project areas only.

At this time we have no data on the above subjects for  
1961 - 64 or 1966 - 69. If you are still interested in  
Cincinnati data, your best source would be the Bureau  
of Census for 1960 data and the Cincinnati City Planning  
Commission for 1965 data.

Sincerely,

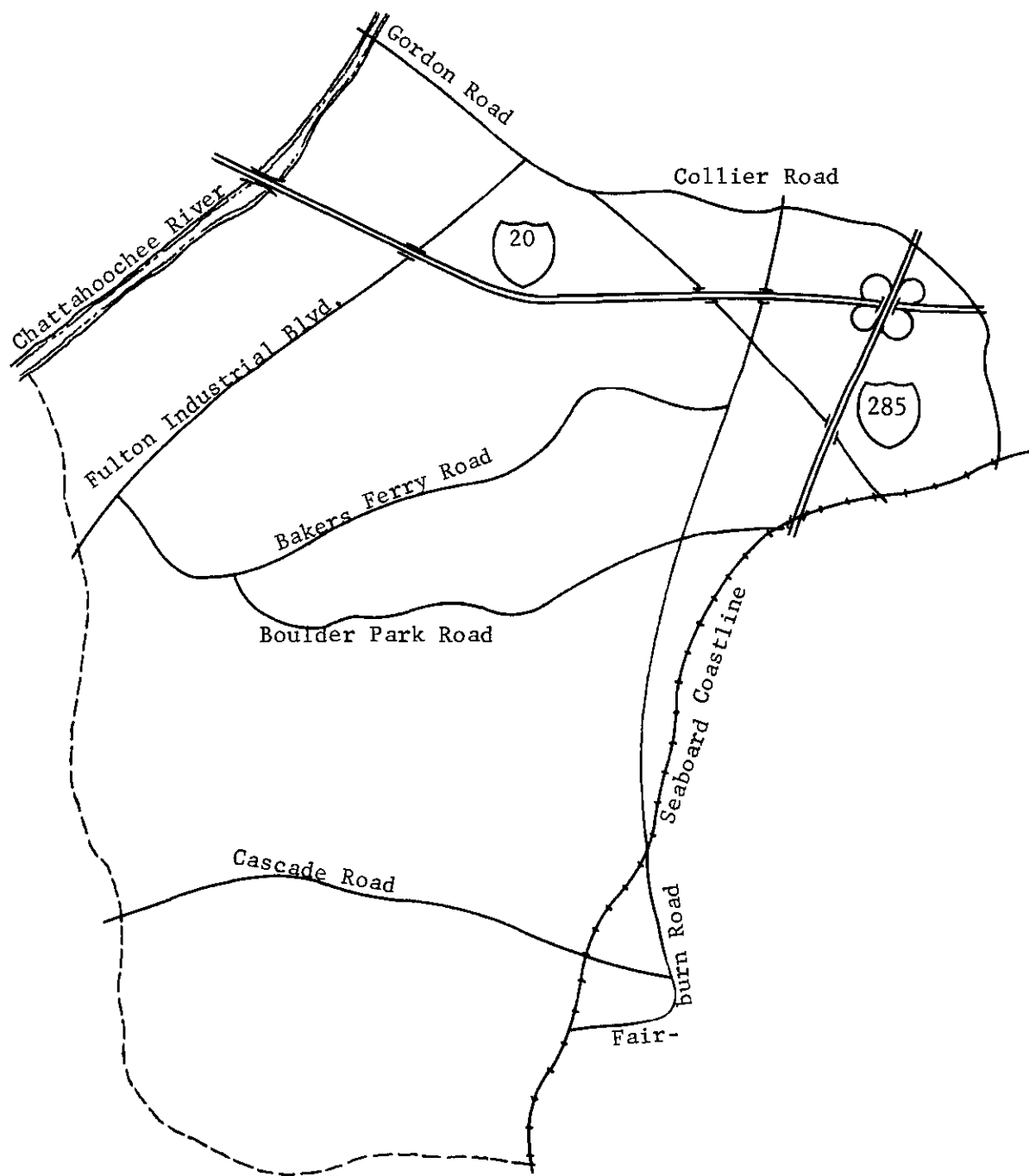
✓  
Leo Wilensky  
Assistant Director

LW:DV:mar

## APPENDIX B

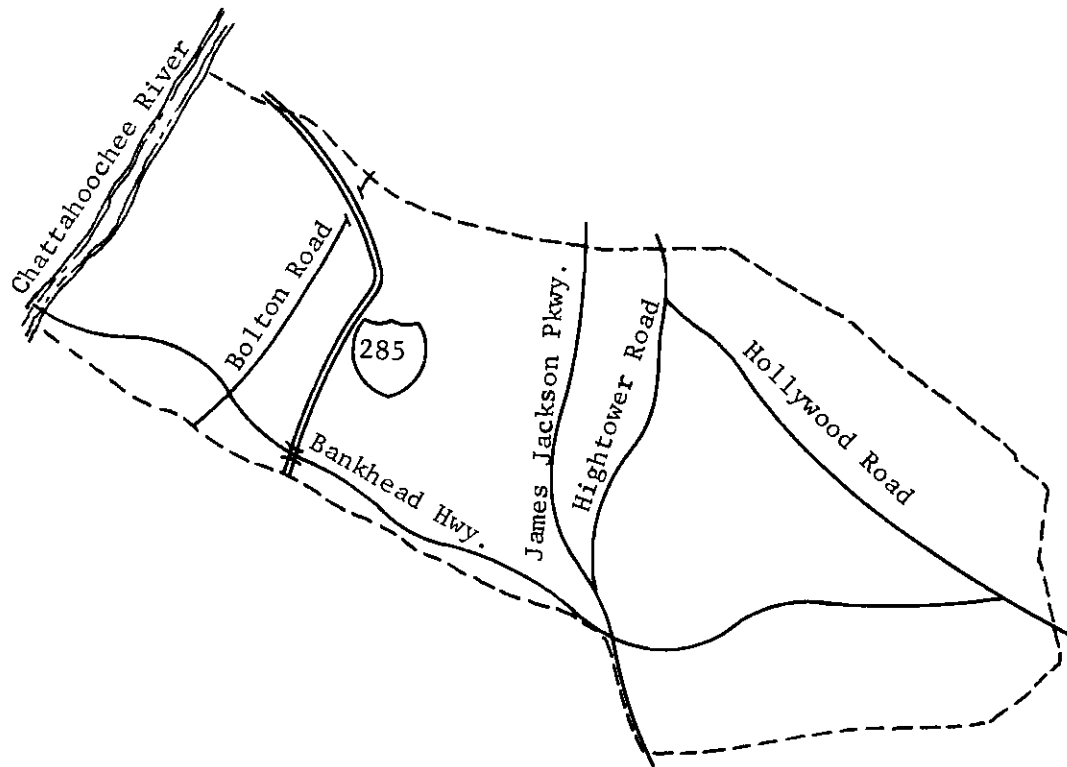
ATLANTA NEIGHBORHOODS THAT UNDERWENT RACIAL  
TRANSITION 1960-1969

## ADAMSVILLE

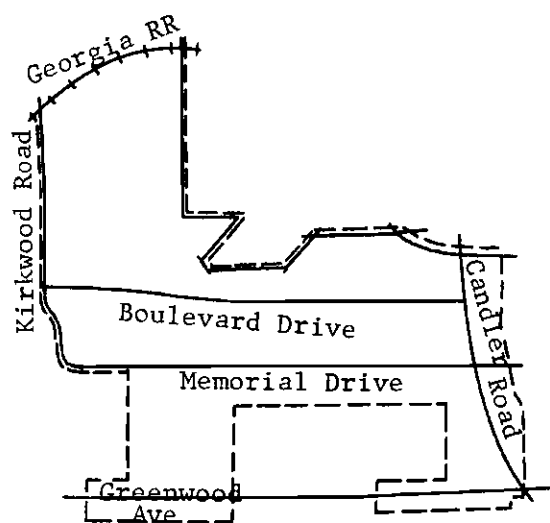




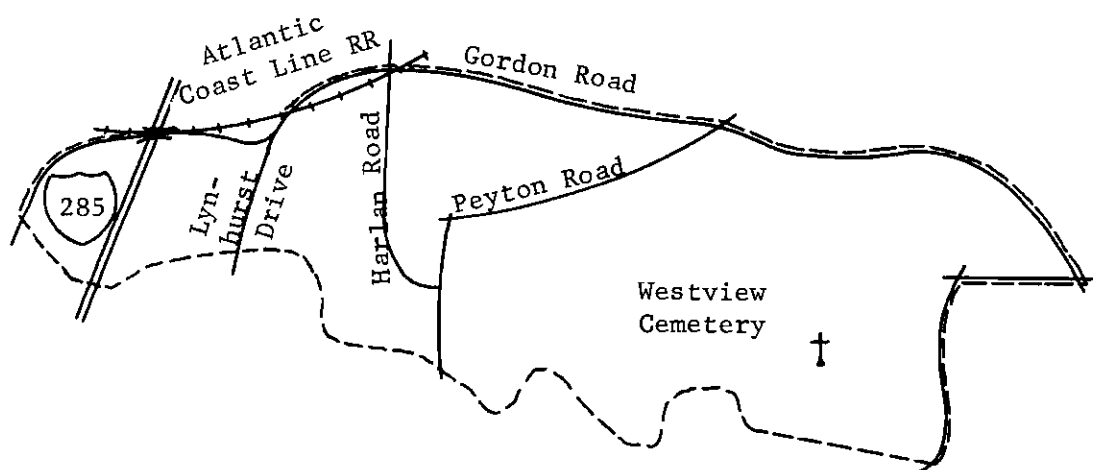
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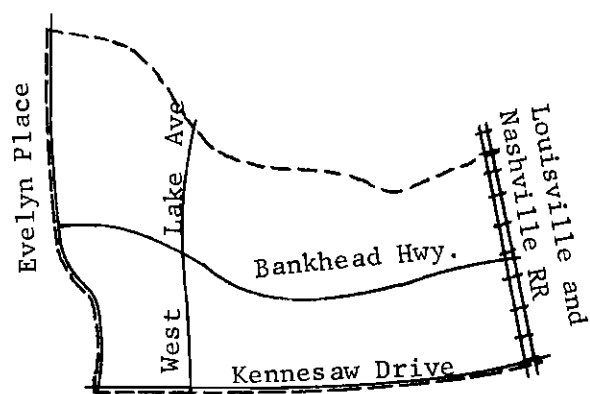
## EAST LAKE



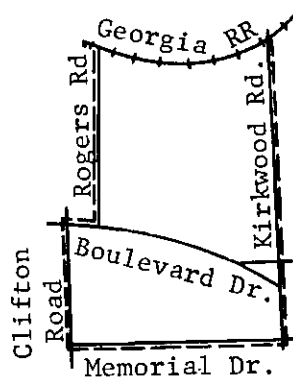
## GORDON-PEYTON



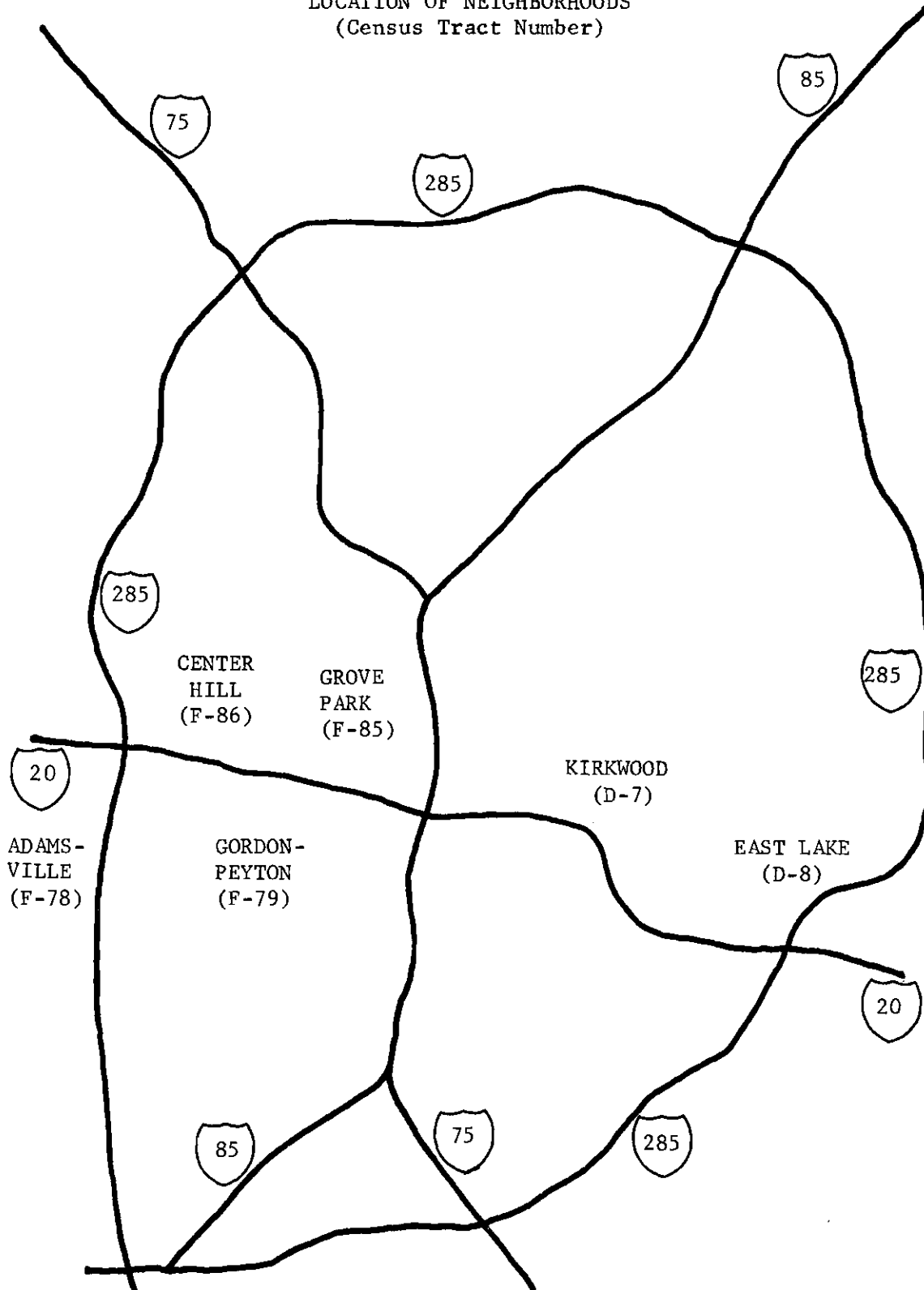
## GROVE PARK



## KIRKWOOD



LOCATION OF NEIGHBORHOODS  
(Census Tract Number)



## APPENDIX C

## POPULATION AND DWELLING UNIT DATA

(From the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission)

## ADAMSVILLE

(Census Tract F-78)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>DWELLING UNITS</u>			<u>POPULATION</u>		
	Black	White	% Black	Black	White	% Black
1960	147	1211	10.9	340	5044	8.2
1961	395	1191	25.2	1941	4452	30.5
1962	1036	973	51.2	4566	3622	55.8
1963	1369	983	58.2	5989	3609	62.1
1964	1977	752	72.9	8040	2740	74.9
1965	2534	800	75.9	9846	2837	77.5
1966	3078	776	82.2	12054	2674	82.1
1967	3318	826	80.5	11711	2853	80.8
1968	3795	847	83.5	13147	2899	81.7
1969	4104	862	83.0	13804	2871	83.1

CENTER HILL  
(Census Tract F-86)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>DWELLING UNITS</u>			<u>POPULATION</u>		
	Black	White	% Black	Black	White	% Black
1960	92	1772	4.9	243	6904	4.1
1961	103	1770	5.5	299	6591	7.3
1962	109	1781	5.8	510	6668	7.4
1963	159	1741	8.4	778	6404	8.9
1964	565	1531	26.7	2643	5382	33.0
1965	1803	712	71.8	8120	2410	77.1
1966	2078	439	82.5	8301	1450	85.5
1967	2346	200	92.1	9424	664	93.6
1968	2356	189	92.5	9284	620	93.5
1969	2495	175	93.5	9498	566	94.3

EAST LAKE  
(Census Tract D-8)

YEAR	DWELLING UNITS			POPULATION		
	Black	White	% Black	Black	White	% Black
1960	2	2545	0.1			
1961	2	2550	0.1	9	7762	0.1
1962	2	2546	0.1	9	7632	0.1
1963	2	2554	0.1	8	7320	0.1
1964	2	2557	0.1	8	7312	0.1
1965	976	1585	37.4	3975	4361	42.5
1966	1270	1287	49.8	4629	3455	57.5
1967	1637	963	62.9	5198	2654	66.2
1968	1689	917	64.9	5293	2493	67.2
1969	2139	472	82.0	6533	1248	83.9



GROVE PARK  
(Census Tract F-85)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>DWELLING UNITS</u>			<u>POPULATION</u>		
	Black	White	% Black	Black	White	% Black
1960	1	1774	0.05	5	5858	0.08
1961	1	1775	0.05	5	5879	0.08
1962	1	1772	0.05	5	5820	0.08
1963	56	1727	3.1	200	5658	3.4
1964	310	1475	17.4	1062	4619	18.7
1965	1224	572	68.3	4032	1724	70.0
1966	1946	50	97.5	6256	147	97.5
1967	2072	0	100	7220	0	100
1968	2102	0	100	7213	0	100
1969	2261	0	100	7513	0	100

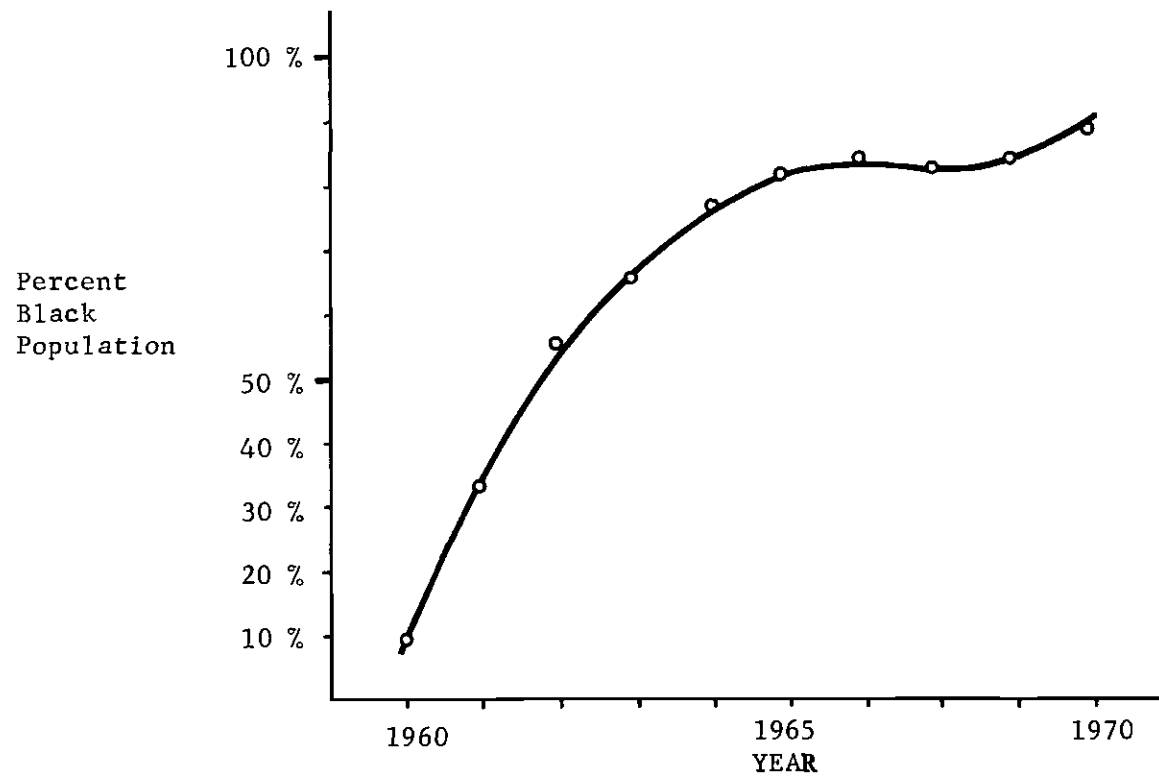
## KIRKWOOD

(Census Tract D-7)

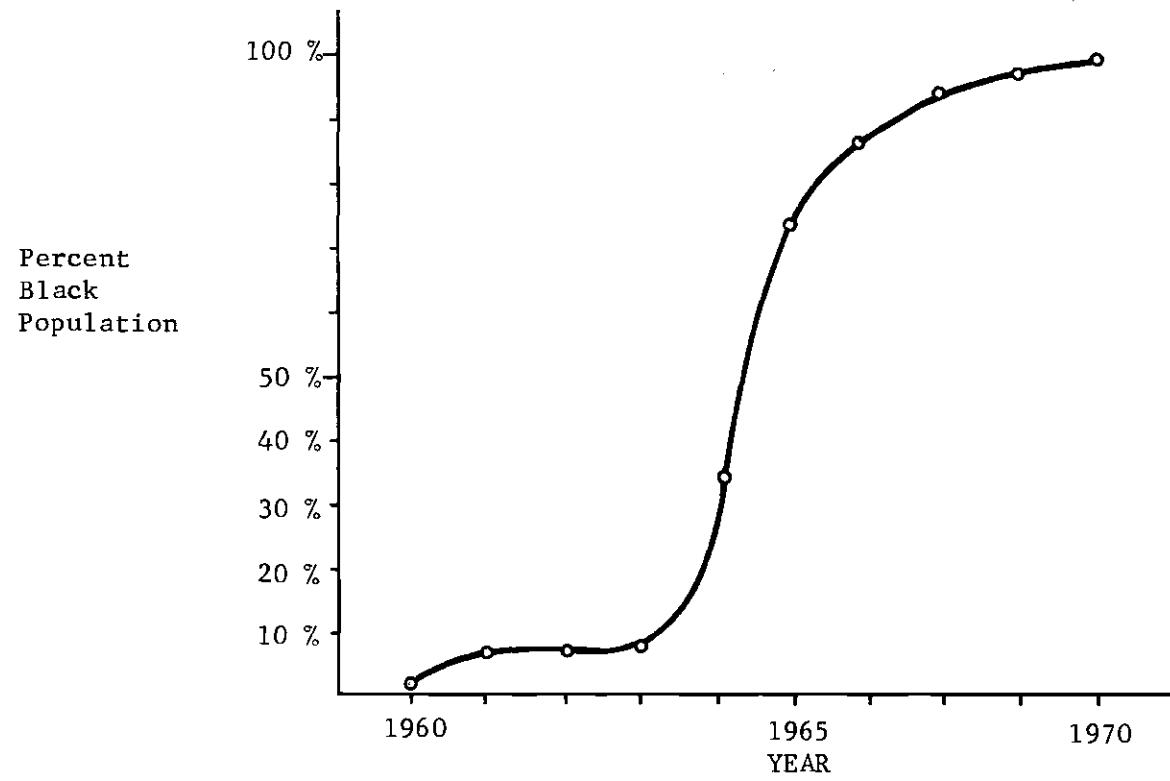
<u>YEAR</u>	<u>DWELLING UNITS</u>			<u>POPULATION</u>		
	Black	White	% Black	Black	White	% Black
1960	0	905	0			
1961				0	2639	0
1962	0	1049	0	0	3014	0
1963	102	948	9.0	396	2607	13.0
1964	204	831	19.5	792	2283	25.8
1965	759	347	68.5	2834	930	75.1
1966	944	147	86.5	3441	397	89.9
1967	1146	20	98.4	3754	78	98.0
1968	1173	18	98.5	3804	72	98.4
1969	1177	18	98.5	3722	71	98.5

## APPENDIX D

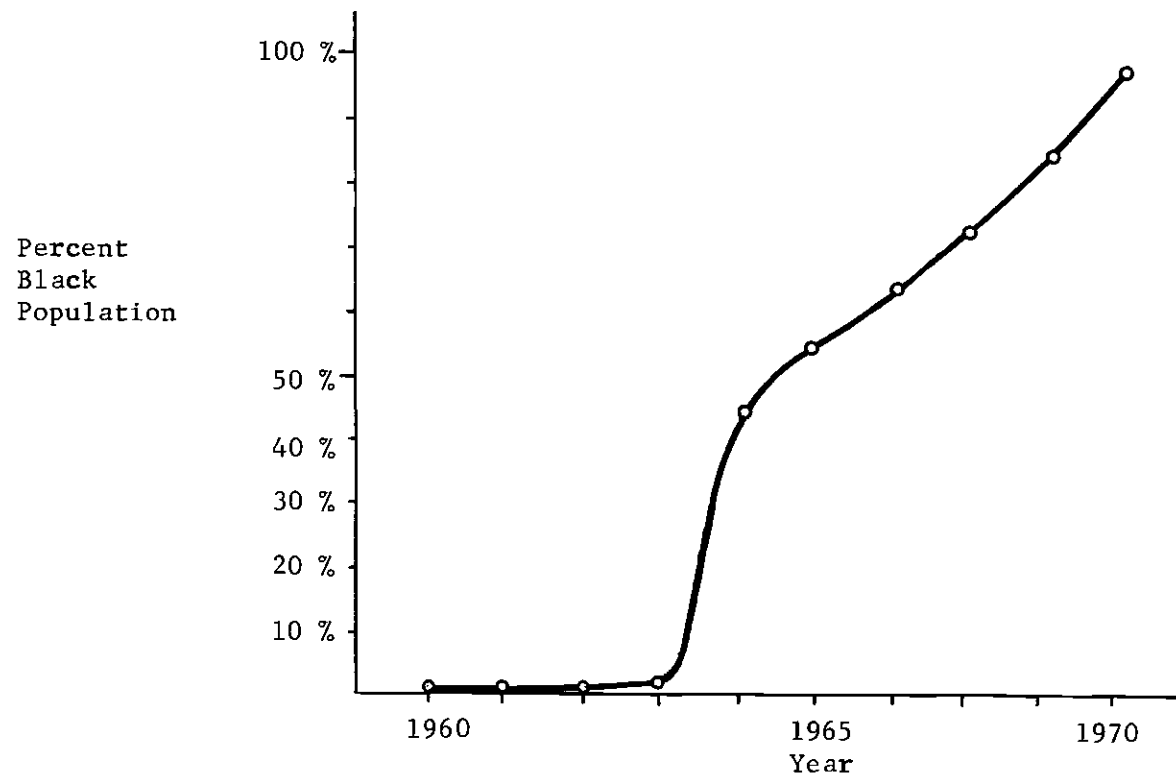
## GRAPHS OF RACIAL TRANSITION



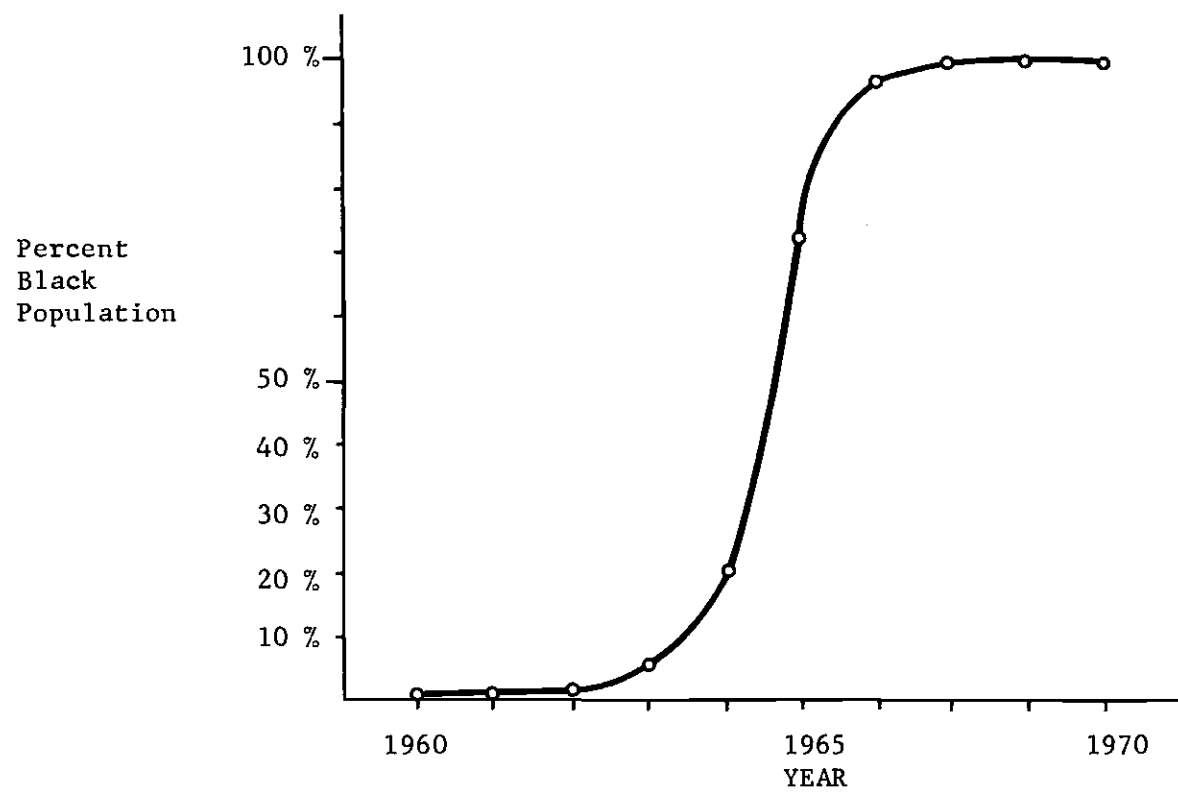
ADAMSVILLE



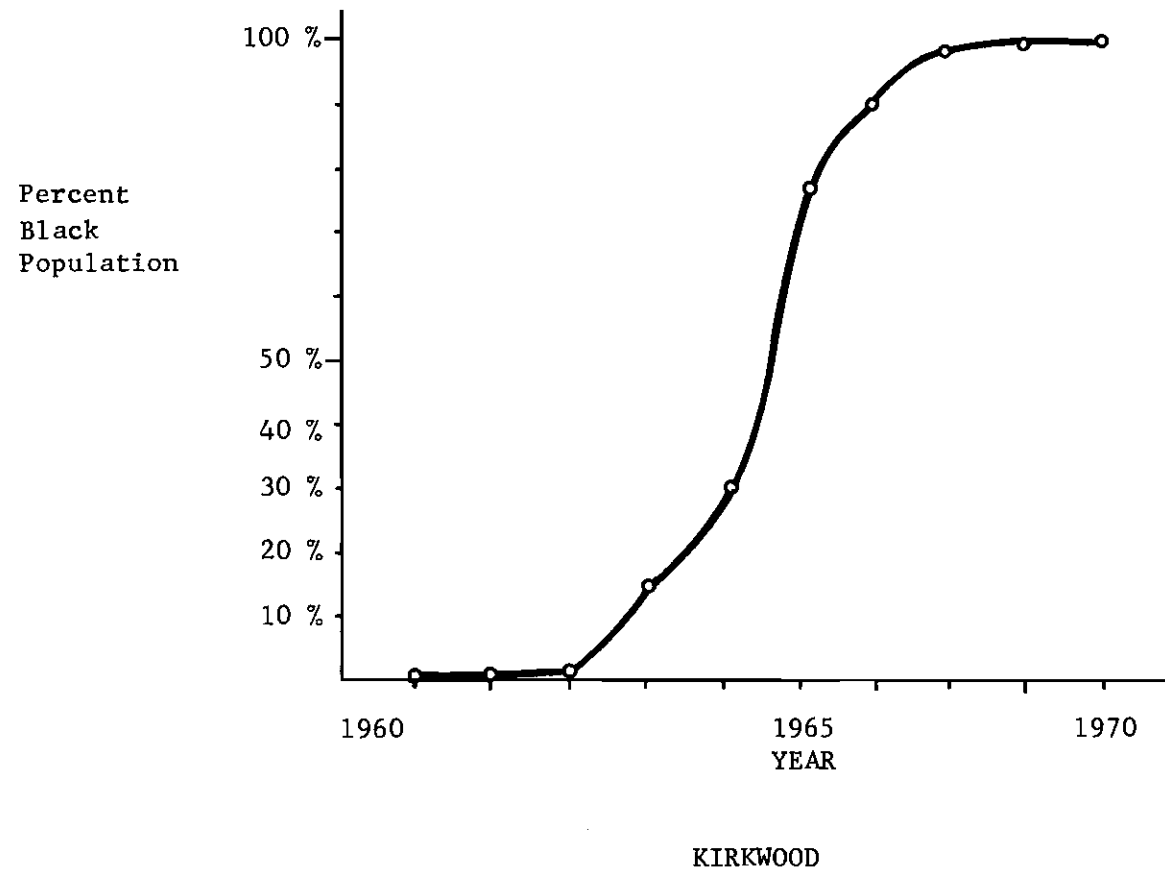
CENTER HILL



EAST LAKE



GROVE PARK





APPENDIX E

CHARACTERISTICS OF ATLANTA TRANSITION NEIGHBORHOODS

IN 1960 PRIOR TO RACIAL TRANSITION

(From the 1960 Census on Population and Housing)

	ATLANTA S.M.S.A.	ATLANTA CITY	ADAMSVILLE	CENTER HILL	EAST LAKE	GORDON-PEYTON	GROVE PARK	KIRKWOOD
Non-White Population	231,474	179,595	670	458	7	4	3	0
White Population	785,019	268,186	3,632	6,644	7,776	3,468	5,918	2,649
Elementary School Enrollment	167,243	66,089	904	1,374	1,091	699	857	315
Median School Years Completed	11.1	10.4	9.9	8.1	12.1	12.6	9.2	11.3
Same Residence for Five Years	390,253	183,471	1,741	3,357	4,302	631	2,830	1,874
Different Residence in 1955	479,248	198,677	1,884	2,729	2,688	2,239	2,394	1,282
Median Income	4,901	3,842	5,341	4,947	6,833	18,676	5,674	4,866
Median Housing Value	12,400	12,300	9,800	7,600	8,700	23,600	9,000	7,200
Median Rent	54	54	57	48	63	--	57	48
Sound Units	250,156	107,405	1,098	1,301	2,250	976	1,644	862
Deteriorating	38,230	21,370	234	367	91	18	170	54
Dilapidated	20,146	11,488	57	277	3	6	15	20
Total Units	308,522	140,263	1,389	1,945	2,644	1,000	1,829	936
Owner Occupied	172,222	58,782	906	1,280	1,972	907	1,232	544

## APPENDIX F

## GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

# BOARD OF EDUCATION

CITY OF CHICAGO  
228 NORTH LA SALLE STREET  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60601  
TELEPHONE 641-4141

FRANCIS M. MCKEAG  
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT  
FACILITIES PLANNING  
TELEPHONE 641-4040

June 9, 1970

Dear Mr. Riemer:

Recently you wrote indicating that you were in the process of preparing a Master's thesis in the area of urban planning and were anxious to obtain information on the rate of racial transition within some of the large metropolitan areas.

There is considerable evidence in Chicago that once a neighborhood becomes integrated for the first time by the movement of blacks, it customarily takes from four to six years to complete the transition from all white to all black. During this period of time, the enrollment in the public elementary schools will increase as much as 250% over what it was prior to any racial transition. The reasons advanced are as follows:

- 1) The public schools receive 90% or more of the black children.
- 2) Quite often the black families are younger, with many children of school age. These families quite often replace older white residents who leave the community.

I hope this information will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours

Assistant Superintendent  
Department of Facilities Planning

FBMc:n

Mr. Richard M. Riemer  
Georgia Tech Box 37289  
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

## THE SCHOOL DISTRICT OF PHILADELPHIA

## BOARD OF EDUCATION

21st STREET SOUTH OF THE PARKWAY

19103

MARK R. SHEDD  
SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

JOHN L. HAYMAN, JR.  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

DANIEL R. FASCIONE  
DIRECTOR  
ADMINISTRATIVE AND SURVEY RESEARCH  
(215) 448-3781

July 21, 1970

Mr. Richard M. Riemer  
Georgia Tech Box 37289  
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

Dear Mr. Riemer:

Your letter of inquiry was received here on June 4 and has been referred to me for a reply. I regret it has taken so long to answer.

You have a fascinating and challenging topic for a thesis. I trust other aspects of it will be easier to come to grips with than the very elusive question of how quickly and by how great a percentage the racial composition of a school changes as its feeder area undergoes racial transition.

We do not have, nor can we prepare for you, figures on what has happened to the racial composition of schools in areas in which the neighborhoods have suddenly gone from white to black. We do have figures for the racial composition of each school over the past ten years (see enclosed report). But we do not have figures on the race of householders for comparable years. There's the rub!

I can suggest one rough measure that you might want to pursue. If you wish to indicate a few Philadelphia elementary schools in which the percentages of change from 1967 to 1968 are great enough to interest you, we could provide you with an approximate racial composition, by block, of the schools' attendance areas, based on the race of public school pupils. You could then compare this with the 1960 census figures. If I understand your time frame, however, this would not meet your need.

Since we are not doing very well on the hard-data side, perhaps I should furnish some of the opinions that you suggest would be acceptable.

It is my impression that the ratios of change are not so high, the changes so quick, or the problems so acute here in Philadelphia. Or, it is possible, we have learned to live with worse conditions.

R. M. Riemer

-2-

July 21, 1970

We have a full time demographer who works, among other things, on projections, pinpointing school enrollments. Until the added fiscal squeeze that was put on us in the past year by the failure of a large capital-program bond issue and the rise in interest rates, we were beginning to have the ability to anticipate changes in enrollment and to adjust the building program to conform. While present conditions persist, we do not know how we will get back on the right track.

Your large, general assumptions seem to be correct, i.e., that blacks have larger families of children who become pupils in public schools. The ratio of public school pupils is higher because a smaller percentage of black children attend parochial or other private schools.

I doubt that this is a very helpful answer to your request for information. However, it is the best we can do. If you want to request the block data on students' race mentioned above, please let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Louis P. Dolbeare, AIP  
Chief Research Planner

LPD:fek  
Enclosure

1959-1968 Negro Enrollment in the Philadelphia Public Schools

cc: J. William Jones  
Daniel R. Fascione



STATE OF ILLINOIS  
DEPARTMENT OF CHILDREN AND FAMILY SERVICES

EDWARD T. WEAVER, Director

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

ROOM 404  
NEW STATE OFFICE BUILDING  
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS 62706

July 24, 1970

Mr. Richard M. Riemer  
Georgia Tech Box 37289  
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

Dear Mr. Riemer:

I cannot answer your question on the basis of any direct studies.

Day care centers are in short supply, as you know. When planning for development, areas with high density, low income, and predominance of working mothers are usually priority areas.

Day care studies by the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago over the past three or four years point up the lack of sufficient day care centers, and areas of the city in which relative need for them is greater. The areas of greatest need generally have greatest need for day care also. They are, as you would suspect, areas with greater concentration of ethnic or racial groups.

Your project introduces many variables and, unfortunately, I do not have much information of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Ireland  
Director of Planning  
Office of Planning  
and Community Development

WHI:ct



CITY OF CHICAGO • RICHARD J. DALEY, *Mayor*

DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

LEWIS W. HILL  
*Commissioner*

CHARLES P. LIVERMORE  
*Deputy Commissioner*

August 6, 1970

Mr. Richard M. Riemer  
Georgia Tech Box 37289  
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

Dear Mr. Riemer:

In reply to your letter of July 24th the seven points you make about Atlanta's experience in areas undergoing racial transition apply to Chicago as well.

While there seems to be some question here about the degree to which day-care centers are used when created, it is true that a larger number of indigent mothers could be employed if more day-care facilities existed and if their use grew more popular or familiar.

I might also demur slightly about whether or not it is the movement of people that leads to the "absence of social constraints" mentioned in your fourth point but certainly there is a rise in juvenile delinquency in such areas. Possible causes might be area hostility to newcomers, non-stepped up police surveillance, and too great an influx of youth with a subsequent increase in gang formations.

Very truly yours,

John H. Taaffe,  
Director of Public Information



John S. Langford, Jr., Judge  
Fulton County Juvenile Court  
445 Capitol Avenue, S.W.  
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

August 7, 1970

Mr. Richard M. Riemer  
Georgia Tech Box 37289  
Atlanta, Georgia 30332

Dear Mr. Riemer:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 27th requesting information on juvenile delinquency in certain specified neighborhood.

The Clerk of the Court has abstracted total delinquency statistics for the census tracts F-85, F-86 and F-78 for the years 1963 through 1969. These statistics are enclosed herewith.

We trust this information will be of some assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

John S. Langford, Jr.  
Judge

jsl/cb  
enc.

<u>Year</u>	<u>F 78</u>		<u>F 85</u>		<u>F 86</u>	
	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>
1969	66	4	138	0	210	17
1968	68	3	140	5	156	17
1967	54	3	95	8	175	18
1966	68	10	104	7	124	32
1965	62	16	83	15	102	40
1964	45	13	41	13	39	47
1963	50	31	17	64	17	96

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4. Helper, Rose, Racial Policies and Practices of Real Estate Brokers, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969, p. 39.
5. Duncan and Duncan, op. cit., p. 115.
6. Rapkin, Chester and Grigsby, William, The Demand for Housing in Racially Mixed Areas, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968, p. 135.
7. This is based on an examination of building permits for several Atlanta transition neighborhoods and on field observations. The homes in these neighborhoods are generally less than ten years old, they are single family detached dwellings, and are not readily convertible into more than one dwelling unit.
8. Taeuber and Taeuber, op. cit., p. 165.
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